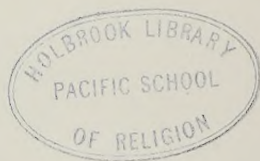
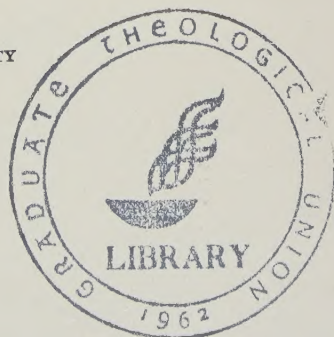
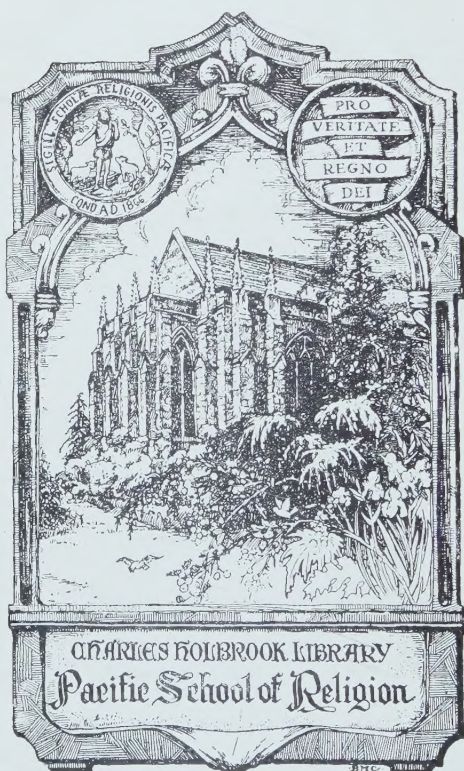


PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
AMERICAN
JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY
NUMBER 34



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1937



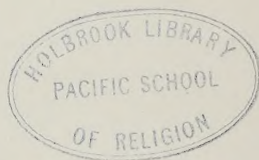


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The Lord Baltimore Press
BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

LIST OF OFFICERS.

President:

DR. A. S. W. ROSENBACH, Philadelphia, Pa.

Vice-Presidents:

HON. SIMON W. ROSENDALE, Albany, N. Y.;

REV. DR. DAVID PHILIPSON, Cincinnati, O.;

CAPT. N. TAYLOR PHILLIPS, New York;

Corresponding Secretary:

ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG, 3080 Broadway, New York.

Recording Secretary:

REV. DR. ABRAHAM A. NEUMAN, Philadelphia, Pa.

Treasurer:

HENRY S. HENDRICKS, New York.

Curator:

LEON HUHNER, New York.

Additional Members of the Executive Council:

(Term expiring with the 41st Annual Meeting.)

DR. JOSHUA BLOCH, New York;

LEE M. FRIEDMAN, Boston, Mass.;

HON. JULIAN W. MACK, Chicago, Ill.;

LESSING J. ROSENWALD, Philadelphia, Pa.

(Term expiring with the 42nd Annual Meeting.)

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RABBI HENRY COHEN, Galveston, Tex.;

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MORRIS WOLF, Philadelphia, Pa.

(Term expiring with the 43rd Annual Meeting.)

LOUIS BAMBERGER, Newark, N. J.;

EDWARD D. COLEMAN, New York;

DR. HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, Washington, D. C.;

PROF. ALEXANDER MARX, New York.

DR. CYRUS ADLER, Philadelphia, Pa.,

ex-officio, as Past President of the Society.

PREFACE.

The responsibility for the preparation and editing of the present number of the *Publications* of the Society was borne by the following committee on publication: Albert M. Friedenberg, chairman; Prof. Alexander Marx, and Edward D. Coleman. After a long and devoted period of service Dr. Cyrus Adler felt constrained to retire from his membership of this committee; Mr. Coleman was appointed to succeed him.

The index to this volume and that printed in No. 33 were prepared by Mr. Coleman.

The present number of the *Publications* is printed and distributed at the charge of the Abraham Erlanger Fund. The late Abraham Erlanger, a member of the Society, by his last will and testament bequeathed a sum of money to the Society to be devoted to activities calculated to extend and enhance its work. It is fitting, therefore, to connect this volume with the name of Abraham Erlanger; may it stand as an appropriate memorial to him and his interest in this Society.

OBJECTS.

The object of this Society is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of America, and to promote the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent. It is known that Jews in Spain and Portugal lent no inconsiderable aid to the voyages that led to the discovery of America, that a few accompanied the earliest discoverers and that Jews were among the first settlers on this continent, and in its adjacent islands. Considerable numbers saw service in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars, some of them with great distinction. Others contributed liberally to the Continental treasury, at critical periods, to aid in the establishment of Independence. Since the foundation of our government, Jews have played an active part in the political affairs of the country, and have been called upon to hold important public positions. The records of the achievements of these men will, when gathered together, prove of value and interest to the historian, and perchance cast light upon some obscure parts of the history of our country.

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FORTIETH ANNUAL MEETING.

The fortieth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held at the library building of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 3080 Broadway, in the city of New York, in the evening of October 26, and the morning of October 27, 1935. The president, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, was in the chair, and the corresponding secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg, acted as the secretary of the meeting. The president's annual address was presented at the first session; in it he reviewed the work of the Society since the thirty-ninth annual meeting and outlined its future activities.

The officers presented their annual reports. The following was submitted by Albert M. Friedenberg, corresponding secretary:

This report covers the period since the thirty-ninth annual meeting, October 22, 1933. On that date we numbered 332 members: 23 corresponding and 309 patron, life, and regular members. Since then 1 corresponding and 15 regular members died, 17 resigned, and 59 were dropped because of the exigencies of the depression. On the other hand 26 new members were elected and Wilberforce Eames was chosen a corresponding member by the executive council.

Hence to-day the Society has 23 corresponding and 244 patron, life, and regular members—a total of 267 supporters.

Publication No. 33 was issued April 1, 1934; it was favorably received. The work of preparing *Publication* No. 34 for early appearance is about to begin.

Of the members who died since my previous report Messrs. Max J. Kohler and George Alexander Kohut were exceedingly active in our work. Mr. Raphael Georges Lévy, a corresponding member, was a leader in the scientific life of France. The others, Mrs. Louise Salomon Hendricks, scion of a family distinguished in American Jewish history, and Messrs. Robert Abrahams, H. G. Enelow, Emil Frenkel, Kaufmann Mandell, Adolph S. Ochs, Israel Unterberg, and Ludwig Vogelstein, of New York; Louis Baer, of Boston; Jay F. Schamberg, and Edwin Wolf, of Philadelphia; Joseph Lippman, of Santa Monica,

Calif.; and David E. Heineman, of Detroit, supported our endeavors through many years. Messrs. Frenkel and Heineman, in other days, were actively represented in our proceedings; each published a paper under our auspices.

The curator submitted his report.¹ As treasurer, Mr. Hendricks, presented his reports for the fiscal years, October 1, 1933 to October 1, 1934, and October 1, 1934 to October 1, 1935. They were referred to Lewis L. Strauss, jr., and Captain N. Taylor Phillips, of New York, as a committee of audit, and read, as follows:

OCTOBER 1, 1933 TO OCTOBER 1, 1934.

REPORT OF TREASURER.

GENERAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with Treasurer October 1, 1933.....	\$432.46
Dues	1,194.50
Sales of Publications, etc.....	56.15
Interest	87.76
Balance due treasurer, October 1, 1934.....	922.01
	\$2,692.88

EXPENSES.

Disbursements, corresponding secretary's office.....	\$87.00
Disbursements, curator's office.....	151.86
Salary and expenses of librarian.....	1,857.42
Printing, 39th annual meeting.....	27.78
Miscellaneous services and supplies for library.....	26.65
Postage for treasurer.....	5.00
Federal tax and exchange on checks, etc.....	.90
Insurance premiums	402.79
Telephone	29.20
Refund overpayment account of sales of publications....	2.00
Binding books, etc.....	75.08
Advertising pamphlet	27.20
	\$2,692.88

¹ See p. xvi, *et seq.*

EQUIPMENT FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1934..... \$1,166.55

RESEARCH FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1933..... \$1,587.21

EXPENSES.

G. R. G. Conway, research..... \$80.00
Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1934..... 1,507.21

\$1,587.21

ABRAHAM ERLANGER FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1933..... \$2,500.00
Interest 47.24

\$2,547.24

HELEN C. ROSENDALE MEMORIAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1933..... \$1,295.36
Interest 39.27

\$1,334.63

STATEMENT OF ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY.

Equipment fund \$1,166.55
Research fund 1,507.21
Abraham Erlanger fund..... 2,547.24
Helen C. Rosendale memorial fund..... 1,334.63

\$6,555.63
Due treasurer, general fund..... 922.01

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\$5,633.62

Louis Bamberger, Newark, N. J.; Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Washington, D. C.; Edward D. Coleman, and Prof. Alexander Marx, both of New York City; and (for a term of one year ending with the forty-first annual meeting of the Society): Dr. Joshua Bloch, New York City.

The following papers were read:

"A Bibliography of the Writings of Max J. Kohler," by Edward D. Coleman.

"The Farmer's Almanac and the Jews," by Lee M. Friedman.

"German Jews in White Servitude in Pennsylvania," by Prof. Guido Kisch.

"A Passover Tray from Easton, Pa., 1843," by Rev. Dr. D. de Sola Pool.

"Notes on Silhouettes of American Jews by August Edouart and Other Silhouettists," by Mrs. Hannah London Siegel.

"A Haym Salomon Letter to Rabbi David Tevele Schiff, of London, 1784," by Hyman B. Grinstein.

"Did Jews Settle in Newport in 1658?" by Albert M. Friedenberg.

"Reminiscences of a Bride of the Santa Fé Trail," by Mrs. Flora Spiegelberg.

"Receipt Book of Judah Hays from June 20, 1759 to December 23, 1762," by Dr. Harold Korn.

"Jewish Parochial Education in New York City," by Jacob I. Hartstein.

The following papers were read by title:

"America's First Jewish Club," by Lee M. Friedman.

"The American Synagogue and Laxity of Religious Observance, 1750-1850," by Hyman B. Grinstein.

(1) "Jewish Items in 'Select Cases of the Mayor's Court of New York City, 1674-1784,'" (2) "The Life of David Eckstein, American Consul at Amsterdam, 1878-1890," by Rev. Dr. Louis I. Newman.

"Early American Hebrew Documents: (a) A New York Tosefeth-Ketubah of the Year 1718; (b) A Shechitah Cer-

tificate Issued to Solomon Etting in Lancaster, 1782; (c) A Letter of Abraham ha-Levi of New York to Aaron Lopez, 1770," by Isaac Rivkind.

"Ephraim Deinard and His Hebrew Collections in American Libraries," by Dr. Israel Schapiro.

"Francisco Rivas," by Rabbi Martin Zielonka.

The following necrologies of deceased members of the Society were presented: Max J. Kohler, by Leon Huhner; George Alexander Kohut, by Dr. Joshua Bloch.

REPORT OF LEON HUHNER, CURATOR, AND
EDWARD D. COLEMAN, LIBRARIAN.

This Society is justly proud of its collection, which is now beyond a doubt the greatest collection on American Jewish history ever assembled anywhere. From modest beginnings it has been steadily increased, and a few years ago the magnificent gift of Dr. Rosenbach of his own priceless books and MSS. placed it in foremost rank.

Since our last meeting in October, 1933, the library has at least been doubled in the quantity of books acquired, by the testamentary gifts of the late Dr. George Alexander Kohut and Max J. Kohler. The Kohut Americana represent the library of a bibliographer and book-collector, consisting mostly of scarce items of various degrees of rarity. The Kohler books, on the other hand, contain few rarities. They are, however, the working books of a historian of contemporary events, whose particular interest lay in certain special topics, which happily fall within the field of our own endeavour.

In the Kohut bequest we received 60 pre-1850 Americana. Of these 60, eight are recorded in the Rosenbach bibliography as having been owned by Kohut and nowhere else. Among these are William Cooper's "The promised seed," Concord, N. H., 1797; Rabba Henriquis' "Reason and faith," Richmond, 1804 (partly printed on blue paper, and containing Hebrew type on p. 85. The real author was Joshua de Cordova, a rabbi in Jamaica); Moses Hart's "Modern religion," New York, 1818; S. H. Jackson and E. S. Lazarus' "Prayerbook," New York, 1826; "Dedication ceremonies at the Rodeph Sholam Synagogue," New York, Purim, 1843; Johnson Pier-son's "The Judaïd: a poem," St. Louis, 1844; and the Hebrew Bible, edited by Leaser and Jacquet, Philadelphia, 1848. The others are of various degrees of rarity. Of some, only two or

three located copies are recorded in Rosenbach. Among these are the first American *Jossipon*, Leominster, Mass., 1803; Seaman's "A catechism of the Christian religion," Philadelphia, 1821 (the first book published in America, the text of which is entirely in Hebrew—3 copies in Rosenbach); Lorenzo Da Ponte's "Memoirs" (in Italian) New York, 1829-30 (2 copies in Rosenbach); J. Horwitz's "a defence of the cosmogony of Moses," Baltimore, 1839 (2 copies in Rosenbach); and a Hebrew Bible, Philadelphia, 1839, not recorded in Rosenbach. Our acquisition of this part of the Kohut bequest enables us to state that we now own nearly a half of the 689 items recorded in Rosenbach, a number greater than that possessed by any other of the eminent libraries which Dr. Rosenbach selected for the location of copies of his pre-1850 Jewish Americana.

Another collection worthy of being pointed out is a group of 90 Hebrew books printed in the United States from 1860 to *circa* 1910. Some of them are very rare. They represent Hebrew scholarship and book-making in our country on the part of the later Russian Jewish immigrants, and nearly all of them are now in our library. No effort was made in the past by us to acquire American Hebrew books, and this initial collection is one which our library should make effort to increase, so that we might become possessed of at least those recorded in the Drachman and Deinard bibliographies.

Besides the pre-1850 and the Hebrew books, the Kohut bequest consists of *circa* 570 additional volumes. To point out the rare items among them would require the listing of entirely too many titles. There are about a dozen South American and Mexican imprints among them, the most notable being the French *Essai sur la colonie du Surinam*, Paramaribo, 1788, and two Dutch translations of it in Amsterdam, 1791 and 1802. The circumstances of its composition and the part taken in it by David Joseph Cohen Nassy are described by Kohut in our *Publications*, No. 3, in his "Early Jewish literature in America." Indeed, a good many of the books and MSS. mentioned by him in that paper were subsequently acquired by

him and are now in our possession, through this bequest. The writings of the leaders of the American rabbinate of the past generation, such as Liebman Adler, Alexander Kohut, Samuel Hirsch, Emil G. Hirsch, M. Mielziner, M. Jastrow, M. J. Raphall, Gustav Gottheil, Benjamin Szold, and Isaac M. Wise are well represented in the Kohut books that came to us. There is also a large number of congregational constitutions and pamphlets (all bound) issued by the congregations on special occasions.

Besides the bound books, we were given Kohut's own letters received by him, during the last forty years of his life, from many European and American Jewish scholars. We thus have a fine collection of A. L. S. of great value. They have been temporarily arranged, and await further detailed examination. We also received a large assortment of clippings of miscellaneous Jewish nature, a good deal of bibliographical material which Kohut collected from his youth on, a large batch of clippings representing his own writings, MSS. of his writings, a number of portraits, and a large assortment of letters of the Bettelheim family. There came also 26 large ledgers in English and French, covering the years 1806 to 1886, of miscellaneous content. These, together with a trunkful of letters, were labelled by Kohut as the Hart papers. They relate to the Hart family of Canada, which came to the Dominion in 1745 and whose career is intimately bound up with the progress of Jewish history in Canada. Whether or not they are important historically remains to be determined. There are also envelopes of MSS. and documents labelled Isaac Leiser, Joshua I. Cohen, Adah Isaacs Menken, Judah P. Benjamin, the Cardozo family, and other more or less celebrated names. Some of this material was on exhibit at our Museum in October, 1933, having been loaned to us by Kohut for our 39th annual meeting.

The Kohler bequest consists of about 1800-2000 books, about 1000 pamphlets, and a large collection of Jewish and general periodicals. Included among the books are about a dozen sets, such as the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, so far in 10 vols., *Jüdisches*

Lexikon, in 5 vols., the "History of the State of New York," published by the New York State Historical Association, so far in 8 vols., the "American Jewish Year Book" in 35 vols., several many-volumed sets of the histories of United States and of New York City, and other sets. The bound books, taken all together may be classified under four headings: 1) those dealing with American Jewish history; 2) books on immigration and naturalization of various racial groups of immigrants; 3) books on peace conferences (particularly the Peace Conference of 1918-1919) memoirs by eminent men who participated in them, and Jewish rights discussed or guaranteed there; 4) general books on history, biography, etc., of minor Jewish interest; but essential for a historical library for reference.

The unbound pamphlets deal largely with the subject of immigration. They consist of annual reports of the Commissioner of Immigration from about 1902 to 1933, annual reports of the Department of Labor for the same period, Congressional hearings on immigration, briefs argued by Kohler and others in deportation cases, copies of House and Senate resolutions on immigration legislation, and brochures issued periodically by the government or by civic bodies both friendly and hostile to immigration.

There were received also documentary material on various subjects, on which the late Mr. Kohler was engaged at the time of his decease: letters and documents addressed to or by Baron Maurice de Hirsch or his representatives, which were to be used in a proposed biography of Baron de Hirsch; Confidential correspondence on the German refugee question; Poland minority treaty problems, and correspondence with the National Conference of Jews and Christians. Other portfolios are marked Seligman family, Belmont family, Dreyfus material, Ellis Island committee, German Jewish Children, Inc., etc. Some of this material is for the present only on deposit with us, but will probably remain permanently with us. All of it awaits further sifting, examination and classification. There were turned over to us also six folio-size scrapbooks of

letters received by the deceased, throughout his public life, from many eminent individuals, and six scrapbooks of clippings of his writings.

Besides the two bequests, most briefly described above, our library and archives have been enriched by the following gifts:

Baron de Hirsch Fund, N. Y., five scrapbooks, compiled by Adolphus S. Solomons (1826-1910), covering the period of the Fund's activities in the 80's and the 90's on behalf of Russian Jewish immigrants. The trustees further paid for the cost of fittingly binding these volumes.

Rabbi Henry Cohen, Galveston, Texas, transcripts of the monuments in the abandoned cemeteries of Woodville, Miss., and Gonzales, Texas.

Cong. Keneseth Israel of Philadelphia, through Rabbi Julian B. Feibleman, copy of original scroll presented by its men's committee to Solomon Solis-Cohen, in May, 1935.

Philip Cowen, a very valuable collection of A. L. S. of famous Americans, received and gathered by him, while editor of the *American Hebrew*, in the nineties of the last century and the early part of this century. Together with it came a large collection of rare American Jewish books and pamphlets, as well as many items of immigration interest. Mr. Cowen's gift aptly supplements the immigration collection of Kohler.

Miss Emma Felsenthal, Urbana, Ill., a collection of about 250 letters received by her father, Rabbi Bernhard Felsenthal (1822-1908), from eminent European and American Jewish scholars, rabbis, and public men.

Lafayette A. Goldstone, through your curator, genealogical chart of the maternal ancestry of his children.

Alexander Harkavy (through Mr. Isaac Rivkind), fifty books in Hebrew and Judeo-German, published here between 1884 and 1930, some of them of great rarity, as well as MS. items on Americanization and lexicography, also MS. records of his and Mrs. Bella Harkavy's families, and diary of his trip through East European countries, as agent for the Hias Organization, to study immigration conditions on the other side.

Ernest H. Levin, New York, nine commissions and certificates issued in 1820-1850 to his ancestor, Aaron Ezekiel Hart of Three Rivers, Que., by governmental and semi-official organizations of Canada.

Isidor Lewi, a collection of records, portraits, letters and certificates relating to his family in Cassel, Germany, and particularly to his father, the late Dr. Joseph Lewi, of Albany, N. Y. It includes a portrait of Theodore Roosevelt, appreciatively inscribed to his mother, a copy of the Offenbach Hagaddah, and a copy of "Isaac M. Wise and Temple Emanu-El," New York, 1930 (1 of 12 printed copies), with extra illustrations and added material pasted in.

Estate of Sarah Lyons, by testamentary bequest, oil paintings of the Rev. J. J. Lyons, father of Miss Sarah Lyons, and of Asa Levy, grandfather of Rev. J. J. Lyons, as well as three miniature paintings, by Inman, of Judah Eleazer Lyons, father of J. J. Lyons, and of Simon Nathan and Grace Nathan, grand-parents of Miss Lyons. The paintings are now hanging in our museum and the miniatures are on exhibit there.

Maimonides Octocentennial Committee, its correspondence in 1934 and 1935, together with pamphlets and programmes of various Maimonides committees, universities and learned bodies, which celebrated that occasion.

Rev. Elias Margolis, Mt. Vernon, N. Y., A. L. S. from Moses Montefiore to P. J. Joachimsen, of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, dated May 24, 1875, as well as 2 A. L. S. from Rabbi Henry S. Jacobs to Myer S. Isaacs, dated Feb. 4 and 6, 1881.

Mrs. Amelia Levy von Mayhoff, silver pitcher presented in 1849 by the members of Cong. B'nai Jeshurun, New York, to Abraham Mitchell, her uncle.

D. Mines, New York, box of correspondence and clippings relating to the recent back-to-the-land movement, with headquarters in Hightstown, N. J.

Misses Grace Eloise and Serena Kursheedt, through Alphonse H. Kursheedt, silver trowel, presented by Cong. Shearith Israel of New York, in 1859, to Asher Kursheedt; silver cup, with Hebrew inscription, presented by Sir Moses Montefiore while in Jerusalem in 1855, to Gershom Kursheedt; silver pointer belonging to Israel Baer Kursheedt; and a medallion die of Gershom Mendes Seixas. These objects are now on exhibit in our museum.

Miss Hannah Newburger, through the courtesy of the late M. J. Kohler, a medal struck during the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the settlement of the Jews in North America, which had been presented to her brother, the late Judge Joseph E. Newburger.

Alexander W. Oppenheim, 2 Judah P. Benjamin items.

Rev. Dr. D. de Sola Pool, MS. letter of James Seixas to Rev. J. J. Lyons, and 9 octavo-leaf MS. exercises in Hebrew grammar, as well as 25 pamphlets on George Washington, published during the bi-centennial, 1932.

Raphael Sachs, through your curator, autograph letter of Baron Rothschild, of Frankfurt, written in 1813, offering to go on bond of a Polish Jew, about to settle in Rossbach, Germany. Also old clippings relating to the Rothschild family.

Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, a bound receipt book of Judah Hays, covering the period June 20, 1759 to Dec. 23, 1762. This receipt book is the subject of a paper in our *Publications*, No. 34, pp. 117-122.

Mrs. Flora Spiegelberg, items relating to the Spiegelberg family, and items of Jewish interest relating to New Mexico.

Mrs. Frances N. Wolff, framed portrait of Rev. H. P. Mendes, and the *Ketubah* of Mendes Cohen and Justine Nathan, New York, 1826.

We, have, of course, received the publications of the various learned societies, state historical societies, and libraries on our exchange list, as well as nearly all the American Jewish periodicals and serials that are published in this country and a considerable number of those issued in Canada and the South American countries. Besides this, and largely through the efforts of our librarian, E. D. Coleman, who has aimed to supplement our collection of serials issued by charitable and cultural organizations, we have received from the following institutions:

Atlanta, Ga., Hebrew Orphan Asylum, its 22 annual reports.

Beth Israel Hospital, New York, its 18 annual reports, 1893-1910.

Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum, its 17 annual reports.

Hadassah Organization, reports of its annual conventions.

Hebrew Orphan Asylum, New York, its 30 annual reports.

Hebrew Technical Institute, New York, its 25 annual reports and catalogs.

Home of the Aged and Infirm Hebrews, New York, its 43 reports, 1883-1925.

Home of the Daughters of Jacob, New York, its 7 annual reports.

Jewish Board of Guardians, New York, its annual reports, 1914-1933.

Jewish Orphanage of Providence, R. I., its 8 annual reports.

Marks Nathan Jewish Orphan Home of Chicago, 2 annual reports.

Montefiore Hospital, New York, its 15 reports, 1916-1931.

Montefiore Hospital, Pittsburgh, Pa., its 3 reports, 1931-1933.

Mount Sinai Hospital, Philadelphia, its annual reports, 1932-1934, and 4 vols. of its Mt. Sinai News.

Mundo Judio, Santiago de Chile, 1 year's run, 1934-1935.

National Farm School, Philadelphia, its 25 annual reports.

National Jewish Hospital, Denver, Colo., its 13 serials including annual reports.

Phi Epsilon Pi Fraternity, a set of its Quarterly.

Solomon and Betty Loeb Memorial Home, New York, its 5 annual reports.

Union of American Hebrew Congregations, reports of the various bodies connected with it, their periodicals, as well as a number of volumes issued by its Dept. of Synagogue and School Extension. Workmen's Circle, New York, reports and periodicals of the various committees and organizations affiliated with it, for the last seven years.

Young Israel, Cincinnati, a complete set for the years 1927-1935.

Young Women's Hebrew Assoc., New York, its 3 annual reports.

Most of the above reports contain matter of social and biographical nature. They eminently belong in our library, and it is hoped that these organizations, and others, will continue to provide us with their reports currently issued.

Our purchases of books, during this period, have been very few. We are all the more grateful, therefore, to the following donors for volumes presented :

Dr. Joshua Bloch. Clement C. Moore's "A compendious lexicon of the Hebrew language," New York, 1809 (Rosenbach no. 153); J. Huie's "History of the Jews," Boston, 1846 (Rosenbach no. 584).

Edward D. Coleman. "American war Congress and Zionism," 1919; Waldo Frank's "Our America," 1919; The life and miracles of William of Norwich, 1896; Thos. Mackellar's American printers, 1876; Trial of Pesach N. Rubenstein, stenographic report, New York, 1876; G. Gilfillian's "Bards of the Bible," New York, 1851; H. A. Stern's "Wanderings among Falashas in Abyssinia," 1862; Rabbi Ignatz Mueller's Communism, Des Moines, Iowa, 1892; E. Schreiber's The Talmud, Denver, Colo., 1884; Guido Kisch's *Die Prager Universität u. d. Juden*, 1935; and J. M. Rigg's "Calendar of the Plea Rolls," vol. 1 (which had been missing from our set).

Dr. L. Efron, Buenos Aires. *Los Judeos en la Nueva España*, Mexico 1932.

Jacob Hartstein. Periodical publications of the Yeshivah College, N. Y.

Leon Huhner. Eight bound volumes and a large collection of pamphlets, as well as a collection of newspaper clippings of contemporary Jewish interest, relating particularly to the persecution of the Jews in Germany.

Jewish Theological Seminary of America, through Prof. A. Marx. 50 volumes of liturgical books in English and Hebrew, published in America, 1874-1932.

Mrs. George W. Kempler, New York. A set of the Jewish Encyclopedia, 12 vols., in memory of her father, Henry Weissman, who died July 3, 1934.

- Misses Lili and Rose Kohler. S. W. Mitchell's "Hugh Wynne, free Quaker," 1898, 2 vols., as well as framed portraits of David Einhorn, Kaufman Kohler and Max J. Kohler.
- H. Krepliak, New York. A large collection of Yiddish South American periodicals, as well as a large number of odd issues of the *Zukunft*, to complete our set of it.
- Mrs. Alice Davis Menken. A large collection of books and pamphlets, including Isaac Leeser's "Form of Prayers," 1854-1864, in 6 vols., the Menken family Bible, family records and memoirs, and *Ketubah*.
- The New York Public Library, through Dr. Joshua Bloch. A large number of sets of congregational bulletins, covering many cities in the United States. More of these indispensable sources for future congregational histories have been promised us.
- Estate of Samuel Oppenheim. Several original documents of the Mayor's Court of New York in which early Jews figure. Also two packages of books.
- David L. Podell. Jacob de Haas' "Palestine," New York, 1934.
- Isaac Rivkind. A collection of miscellaneous pamphlets and current programmes printed in New York and Palestine, as well as I. Buravik's "The witches," Mexico, 1927, the first Yiddish book published in Mexico.
- Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach. "A treatise of the future restoration of the Israelites," London, 1747; "Lacon, or Many things in few words," printed by S. Marks, New York, 1824; S. G. Gumpertz's "The Jewish legion of valor," 1934; *Die jüdischen Gefallenen d. deutschen Heeres*, Berlin, 1932; G. Mallery's "Israelites and Indian, a parallel," 1889; Samuel Woodworth's "Poems, odes and songs," printed by Lopez, New York, 1818; and *Auto General de la Fee celebrado . . . 11 de Abril 1649*, Mexico, D. F., 1649 (a volume of the greatest rarity).
- Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Albany, N. Y. Johannes Lundius, *Die alten Jüdischen Heiligthümer*, Hamburg, 1704 (an extremely fine thick folio copy, bound in calf).
- Samuel I. Sacks, Philadelphia. Constitution and by-laws of the Congregation House of Israel, Phila., 1873 (one of 3 copies printed).
- Harry Schneiderman, New York. Polonies Talmud Torah School, Library Catalogue, New York, 1878.
- Rev. Jos. B. Stolz, Chicago. B. Bregstone's "Chicago and its Jews," 1933.
- Gustav Tuck, London. Two de luxe editions of books by Ephraim Levine, issued by the Jewish Historical Society of England.

The following volumes were gratefully received from their authors, editors or publishers:

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| Dr. Cyrus Adler. | His "Lectures, papers and addresses." |
| Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation. | Saul Chajes' <i>Theasaurus pseudonymorum</i> . |
| Herbert D. Allman, Phila. | His "A unique institution; the history of the National Farm School." |
| American Jewish Committee. | Its currently issued releases and memoranda, clippings of current Jewish interest, pamphlets issued by it, and H. Bernstein's "The truth about the Protocols." |
| Bank of New York. | Nevins' "History of the Bank of New York, 1784-1934." |
| Congressman Sol. Bloom. | His four pamphlets on George Washington, 1932. |
| Ronald Brandon, London. | His "Fortiter et recte; a genealogy of the Brandon family." |
| Canadian Jewish Congress. | Its publications and press releases, 1932-1935. |
| Dr. Boaz Cohen. | His "Bibliography of Prof. Louis Ginzberg." |
| Rabbi Bernard Drachman. | His "Looking at America," 1935. |
| David Druck. | His biographies of Louis Ginzberg and Baron Edmond de Rothschild. |
| Rachel Du-Bois Davis. | Her "The Jews in American life," 1935. |
| Benzion Eisenstadt. | His <i>Anshe haShem b'Arzoth haBrith</i> , 1934. |
| Saul Elman. | His "Memoirs of Mischa Elman's father." |
| Federacion Sioniste de Chile. | Its <i>15 Anos</i> , Santiago, 1935. |
| Albert M. Friedenberg. | His "Zionist studies"; "Sunday laws in the U. S."; an annotated copy with MS. additions, and <i>Rede am 5. Dez., 1813</i> , by M. J. Frenkel. |
| Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Baltimore. | Ten pamphlets by him on the history of Jews in medicine and Jewish medical literature. |
| Lee M. Friedman, Boston. | His "Early American Jews." |
| Dr. L. Gershenfeld, Phila. | His "The Jew in science." |
| Josephine Goldmark. | Her "Pilgrims of '48." |
| Louis M. Goren, Boston. | His "American lyrics," "Fancies and songs," and <i>Lieder vom weg</i> . |

- Rabbi M. A. Gutstein, Newport, R. I.
Hadassah Organization.
B. H. Hartogensis, Baltimore.
Hebrew American Typographical Union.
Dr. Michael Higger.
- Maximilian Hurwitz.
- Icor Society, N. Y.
Intern. Ladies' Garment Workers Union.
Rabbi Ferdinand M. Isserman, St. Louis.
Ephim Jeshurun.
Jewish Chautauqua Society.
- Jewish Publication Society of America.
- S. R. Kagan, Boston.
- Mrs. Alexander Kohut.
Nehemiah S. Libovitz.
- Prof. Jacob R. Marcus, Cincinnati.
- Newark Museum.
- Rollin G. Osterweis, New Haven.
- Rabbi D. Philipson, Cincinnati.
- Rev. E. F. Romig.
- Dr. Israel Schapiro, Washington, D. C.
- His "The Touro family of Newport."
Jessie Sampter's "Modern Palestine."
Pamphlets and clippings, mainly his own work.
Its two Souvenir Albums.
Three Minor Talmudical treatises, edited by him, as well as a number of reprints and pamphlets.
Collection of books and pamphlets, edited or translated by him.
Its two *Jahrbücher*.
H. Levine's "The women's garment workers union."
His "Rebels and saints," and "The Jews in Nazi Germany."
Wilno, edited by him, 1935.
28 books and pamphlets published by it, 1899-1929.
American Jewish year book, 5693, 5694, and 5695; C. Roth's "History of the Maranos," and his "Life of Menasseh ben Israel."
His "Jewish contributions to medicine in America," and his "Hygiene and health in the Talmud."
Her "As I know them."
Five Hebrew books printed by him in limited editions.
Four pamphlets by him, 1933-34, and his "Rise and destiny of the German Jew."
Its "Louis Bamberger," Newark, N. J., 1934.
His "Rebecca Gratz."
His "Centenary papers, and others," 1919.
His "William the Silent" (through the courtesy of Rev. D. de Sola Pool).
Five volumes by him in Hebrew and German.

Rev. Abram Simon, Washington, D. C.	His 17 pamphlets, 1898-1928.
L. M. Stein, Chicago.	Eight books by various authors, printed by him in limited editions.
United Hebrew Trades.	Two volumes on the Jewish labor movement in America.
U. S. George Washington Bicentennial Commission.	"History of the Celebration," in four volumes, 1933-1934, and a bronze medal struck by the commission for the occasion. (through the courtesy of Congressman Sol Bloom).
Julia M. Waugh, San Antonio, Texas.	Her "Castroville and Henry Castro," 1934.

Our collections have been further increased during the period under review by gifts of books from the following donors: Abraham Lincoln Association, of Springfield, Ill.; S. Belfonte & Co., Livorno, Italy; Rabbi Benzion Bokser; Rabbi Jacob Bosniak; Carnegie Institution of Washington, D. C.; Columbia University; Congregation Emanu-El of San Bernardino, Calif.; Prof. Louis Finkelstein; Mr. Harry Fischel; Jerry Fried; Dr. Isaac Goldberg, Roxbury, Mass.; Paul Goodman, London; Rabbi James G. Heller, Cincinnati; Edward Herbert; George J. Horowitz; The Jewish Institute of Religion, New York; Dr. Eugene Kohn, Bayonne, N. J.; Dr. Simon Miller, Yonkers, N. Y.; the Montreal Jewish Public Library; Dr. Herbert H. Morais; A. Mordell, Philadelphia; Dr. M. J. Robbins, Nashua, N. H.; Rabbi Leon Spitz, New Haven, Conn.; and Rabbi J. G. Tolochko, Oil City, Pa.

We reiterate our thanks to all friends of our library who have been generous and co-operative in the past. We beseech their interest in our work in the future. And we repeat the request which we have made on numerous occasions in preceding years to individuals and organizations, possessing family heirlooms, MS. documents, historical books and objects, to place them in our library, archives, or museum, where they will be not only permanently and adequately preserved, but where they may also be of use to the historical students of the future.

Dated October, 1935.

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE JEWS IN NEWPORT:

SOME NEW MATTER ON THE SUBJECT.*

By SAMUEL OPPENHEIM.

In this paper will be presented many new facts and considerations relating to the first Jews in Newport. In connection with their arrival an account will be given, for the first

* [The present paper was presented by its author at the fifteenth annual meeting of the Society, held at Newport, R. I., July 4th and 5, 1907. It thus represented the first form of his valuable researches into the history of the Jewish colony in western Guiana and that of the Jews and freemasonry in the United States.

Coming into possession of the Society as a part of the useful and important Oppenheim collection, we deem it fitting as an act of piety towards the work of our lamented recording secretary to publish such parts of this early essay as were not afterwards recast and printed in definitive form in his notable papers in Nos. 16 and 19 of the *Publications* of the Society. The omitted portions have not been indicated, except by appropriate references to the printed sources, as being obviously self-explanatory.

Oppenheim's reputation as a careful and earnest student of American Jewish history stands secure. The present paper, which he never made available for publication during his life, serves to show how carefully he examined every angle of the problems in research which he attacked.

The project of a volume to embrace the unpublished papers of the late Samuel Oppenheim, as found in the Oppenheim collection, is necessarily still reserved for future fulfilment. The paper by Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom, in No. 33 of the *Publications* of the Society, was based on the valuable material collected so painstakingly by our departed friend. The present issuance of this early essay may, then, be taken as another earnest of the interest of the publication committee of the Society in bringing to a conclusion one of these days its important but, alas, still unabsolved task.—A. M. F.]

time, of a colony of which they formed part, sent out by Holland to the coast of Guiana, in 1658. Some new facts will also be given with regard to the deed, dated in 1677, of the Jewish cemetery in Newport, and to the vote for the protection of the Jews, passed by the General Assembly of Rhode Island in 1684. The presence of Jews in Newport before that vote having lately been denied, proof will be given on that point, independently of the proof of the genuineness, also lately denied, of the cemetery deed, and independently of the references to the first settlers. In addition, a brief review will be made of the arguments heretofore advanced against the claim that Freemasonry was practised in Rhode Island by Jews in 1658, and an answer to those arguments will be submitted, and some new facts presented, tending to establish that state's priority to the honor of the first mention of the order in the United States.

WHENCE AND WHEN THE FIRST JEWS CAME TO NEWPORT?

The date of the first arrival of the Jews in Newport has been variously given by different writers. Some give it as 1655, while others state it as 1656, 1657, or 1658. There is also a conflict as to the place whence they came, although all seem to agree that the newcomers were originally from Holland.

Ross¹ speaks of them as of Dutch extraction from Curaçao and that they were poor, but does not give the date of their arrival except that it was previous to 1677 when the deed of the burial ground, to which he refers by description, was made. Whence he derived his authority we do not know, unless it be from conversations with the Jews in Newport in his time. He seems to be the first writer now to be found who gives a reference to the Jews of Newport in the middle of the seventeenth century.

¹ "Discourse Embracing the Civil and Religious History of Rhode Island, delivered April 4th, 1838," p. 136.

Peterson² follows Ross almost *verbatim*, but gives the date as about 1657. He elsewhere³ refers to a party that arrived in 1658, basing his statements upon documents in the possession of Nathan H. Gould, of Newport.

A German writer in 1855,⁴ with Ross and Peterson's statements before him, thought the Jews came from Brazil.

Judge Charles P. Daly⁵ refers to Peterson as to the presence of the Jews in Newport in 1657, and thought that after Stuyvesant's order to them in March, 1655, to depart from New Amsterdam, they had gone to Newport between 1655 and 1657 and were afterwards joined by others who came from Curaçao.

Max J. Kohler,⁶ in 1897, thought that though some of them had settled in Newport before 1658 that date was the earliest known to us and that Peterson, who copied, as stated, from Ross, had reference, in the mention of Curaçao Jews, to a later accession in 1694. In his article on Newport, written in conjunction with Leon Huhner,⁷ Kohler suggested that the arrivals between 1655 and 1657, referred to by Judge Daly, were from New Amsterdam and Curaçao.

Nathan H. Gould, of Newport, gave in 1870 his version which has already been printed.⁸

A dogmatic writer, in 1905, came to the fore with the opinion that "no Jews ever came to dwell in Newport before 1684," and considered himself conclusively supported by the fact that the Jews are first mentioned in that year, in the

² "History of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations," 1853, p. 181.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁴ "N" in Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, vol. iv, p. 266; probably Dr. Adolf Neubauer, the well known Jewish scholar.

⁵ "The Settlement of the Jews in North America."

⁶ *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 6, pp. 62-3.

⁷ "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. ix, p. 294, *et seq.*

⁸ *Publications, supra*, No. 19, p. 9 *et seq.*

printed "Colonial Records of Rhode Island," edited by John Russell Bartlett.⁹ He was not deterred in making this claim by the reference in both Peterson and Ross to the Jewish cemetery deed executed in 1677, and made certain statements in regard to that deed, which will be referred to later.

A VERSION OF THE FIRST ARRIVAL OF THE JEWS IN NEWPORT.

Gould's version of the arrival of the Jews in Newport appears in a letter written by him to the grand lodge of free-masons of Massachusetts, in 1870.¹⁰

The salient features of Gould's version are: 1. That a colony of Israelites was sent from Holland to the coast of South America. 2. That the colonists were included to go to that coast with the view of collecting precious stones. 3. That they were driven out and scattered to the islands, meaning the islands of the West Indies. 4. That after wanderings, some of them found their way to Jamaica. 5. That a regular trade existed between Jamaica and Newport. 6. That the captain of one of the packets sailing between Jamaica and Newport gave the colonists information about Rhode Island as a place where religious freedom was allowed, and that they then went to Newport.

These statements accord with known facts.

That Holland, acting through the Dutch West India Company, had been sending out colonists of Jews to its possessions in South America at about this time we know. It had founded a Jewish colony at Cayenne in 1650, and also in Curaçao in the same year and in 1652.¹¹ It had also countenanced, as is well known, the settlement of Jews in New Netherland, after

⁹ Sidney S. Rider, in *Book Notes*, Providence, R. I., 1905, vol. xxii, pp. 99, 166.

¹⁰ *Publications*, *supra*.

¹¹ *Publications*, *supra*, No. 10, pp. 142-3; "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. i, p. 494.

the loss of Brazil in 1654. In 1655, when it recognized the hopelessness of attempting to recover Brazil from the Portuguese, it threw open the Guiana coast to colonization. Its efforts in that direction are shown in the "Report of the United States Commission on the boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana," vol. i, p. 194, in treating of the Dutch in the Essequibo, now British Guiana. There it is stated that the Zeeland chamber of the Dutch West India Company drew up a prospectus on October 12, 1656, inviting, under tempting conditions, the settlement of the wild coast; that this was followed in 1657 with a new body of liberties and exemptions for colonists and patroons; and that on March 22, 1657, the first free colonists to the number of twelve persons, some with and some without family, wife and children, and slaves arrived in Essequibo. These, however, were not Jews.¹²

Rhode Island being a British possession, trade between it and Jamaica, as mentioned by Gould, would be natural.

Who the captain was, of whom the colonists inquired at Jamaica, as stated by Gould, may be conjectured from a reference in the printed colonial records of Rhode Island to a petition presented October 11, 1656, to the general assembly, by Captain Campa Subado, of Jamaica, with regard to which Roger Williams, as president, was asked to communicate with Nicholas Easton, formerly president and later governor. What the petition related to does not appear. The entry reads as follows:¹³

It is ordered that the president, Mr. Roger Williams, is desired to draw up a letter to Mr. Nicholas Easton containing the heads of Captaine Campa Subados petition and the letter sent from his Highness' Commissioners of Jamaica concerning Captain Subado, desiring his presence or his answer upon the thirteenth daie in this present month.

¹² *Publications, supra*, No. 16, p. 95, *et seq.*

¹³ "Rhode Island Colonial Records," vol. i, p. 346.

The present writer had noted the name of Subado as probably Jewish, and was pleased to find that Kohler, who had come across it elsewhere, had also noted it as Jewish, giving reasons for his belief.¹⁴ Kohler states that the name also appears as Campoe Sabbatha and also as Sabada and Subada; that the captain acted as a pilot in the attack of Cromwell's fleet on Jamaica in 1655, and that some years before he had also acted in a similar capacity in another attack on the island. Subado is referred to elsewhere as a "Dutch Man."¹⁵ The name is also spelled Sybada and Subbatha and he is described as commander of a brigantine and also as keeping a journal of information of the enemy's movements, which was sent to Cromwell.

Subado being here shown to have been in Rhode Island and as coming from Jamaica, and apparently engaged in trade between Jamaica and Rhode Island, and no doubt being still alive in 1658, it is probable that he was the captain referred to by Gould as having informed the Jews of the desirability of Rhode Island as a place of refuge for their weary feet. If of their race they would naturally have inquired of him. The toleration of Rhode Island for all forms of religion was then offered to all. Roger Williams' famous "Ship" letter, of January, 1655, and his liberal views with regard to the Jews must have been well known to the captain who seems, according to the resolution of the General Assembly, to have had relations with prominent men in the colony, and who no doubt communicated his knowledge of conditions there to the colonists at Jamaica.

From the foregoing considerations, it would seem that Gould's version bears the stamp of truth. He is the first to indicate the sending out of a Jewish colony from Holland to

¹⁴ "Menasseh ben Israel and Some Unpublished Pages of American History," p. 9; Reprinted from *The American Hebrew*, November 1, 1901.

¹⁵ General Venable's Narrative of the Expedition against Jamaica, p. 20.

South America in 1658, though references have heretofore been made to other colonies, under the Jewish grants of 1650, 1652, and 1659. The documents in his possession, alluded to by Peterson, undoubtedly warranted Peterson's positive statements in outline and his reference to the year 1658. Gould's version is a little more explicit as to details, and the verification of its main elements herein must lead us to give full credit to other statements in his version. Ross, also, in his views as to the early arrivals, probably based his statements upon information from the Gould family. So far as can be ascertained, these are the only writers up to their time, that have given an account of the early arrivals, and we may conclude from what has been presented herein, that the first settlement of the Jews in Newport was in the spring of 1658, as stated by Gould and Peterson. The reference by Ross, in which he was copied by Peterson, to a settlement by Curaçao Jews in 1657, may possibly have reference to some Jews from Essequibo who went to Curaçao, the date 1657 being possibly taken from some memorandum dated according to the old style of reckoning the year as ending March 25th.

Judge Daly suggests¹⁶ that between 1655 and 1657 Jews came to Newport from New Amsterdam, but this is a mere conclusion on his part, based upon the fact that a resolution had been passed by the authorities of New Amsterdam in 1655 that certain Jews who had come in the previous year and some that had then just arrived should leave the city, and upon the allusion by Peterson to Jews in Newport in 1657, and also upon the probability that the conditions in Rhode Island regarding religious worship would have induced the Jews to go there. The requirement to depart from New Amsterdam, as will be seen by a reference to a direction to another Jew in the same resolution did not apply to all the Jews in New Amsterdam. Though no entry appears in the records of their actual departure, it must be presumed that

¹⁶ *Supra*, p. 14.

the order was not an idle one but one intended to be enforced. It was made March 1, 1655, and the subsequent grant of privileges from Amsterdam, dated April 15, authorizing them to reside and trade in the New Netherlands, could not have reached here before about June 1, or about three months after the order to depart had been made, which would allow for the Jews to leave before the countermanding order arrived. As a number of those named in the New Amsterdam records as among the first arrivals appear later in Barbados, it is more than likely that those who left after the order to depart went to that island instead of to Newport. Jews are known to have been in Barbados about 1655 and none are known to have been then at Newport.

It is probable, as already suggested, that part of the twenty-five families mentioned in the Thurloe letter, or part of those that left Flushing, went to Barbados after they had abandoned the Essequibo colony. We find the names of some of the families mentioned by Gould as arriving in Newport in 1658, among the Jews in Barbados in later years, namely, Aboab, Pacheckoe, spelled Pacheco, and Campanall, spelled Camperwell.

An Isack Abof, the last name being an allowable transliteration of the Hebrew of Aboab, is noted as in Barbados about 1680.¹⁷ He may have been a descendant of the family of the rabbi of Gould's mention. Gould is the only one who has mentioned Rabbi Isaac Aboab as accompanying those that formed part of the colony that went to South America and with them went to Rhode Island. The spelling of the name as Abbab, in his version, is probably a typographical or scrivener's error, or possibly followed the pronunciation as he heard it. Whether this Aboab was the celebrated rabbi who went from Holland to Brazil in 1642 with six hundred Jews and left there with them for Holland in 1654 after the reconquest by the Portuguese, we cannot tell. It is possible

¹⁷ *Publications, supra*, No. 1, p. 106.

there was another Rabbi Isaac Aboab at that time resident in Italy or Holland, or possibly at Curaçao, and that he went with the colonists or joined them after they left Essequibo.

We have no full knowledge of all the events in the life of the celebrated Rabbi Isaac Aboab, and it is within the probabilities that like many other Jews in Holland who had been in Brazil he embraced the opportunity offered by the colonization scheme of Nassy, and went to the wild coast. Though a rabbi he was not freed from the necessity of earning his livelihood by other than intellectual means, and may have been also persuaded by his coreligionists to join with them as their rabbi. He had been prominent with them in the defence of Recife, in Brazil, and knew about conditions in South America, and may have accompanied them to the new colony with the view of establishing himself there. We know that some years before, while the Jews were in Brazil, the famous Menasseh ben Israel had contemplated going to that country, for lack of means of support in Holland, and had made all preparations for his departure when he was dissuaded by several of the wealthy members of his flock who provided an assured income for him.

There is nothing improbable in the mention of Rabbi Isaac Aboab as a member of the party of Jews that went to Newport, as found in Gould's version. The coincident mention of the Jews by him as coming to Newport under the designation of a certain number of families, with a like mention of a certain number of families in the Thurloe letter, is somewhat significant in tracing the connection between the Newport arrivals and those that were sent out by Holland. Such a designation of the Jews going to America does not appear elsewhere in the records, so far as we have them.

Regarding Moses Pacheckoe, also mentioned by Gould and Peterson, we have a Pacheco, a Jew, which is the same name and of the same pronunciation, though with a slightly different spelling, appearing in The Hague, as ambassador to

Holland of the king of Morocco, in the early part of the seventeenth century, and who dying in 1604 was buried there with great pomp.¹⁸ Presumably his descendants remained in Holland, and Moses Pacheco was one, and was of Aboab's party that first went to Brazil and after the return to Holland at the close of the war in 1654 may have become a member of the proposed colony to Guiana.

There is also mention of an Emanuel Pacheco in Brazil about 1641, after the Dutch had taken Pernambuco. He was a captain and was sent as one of two representatives of the Portuguese stateholder to negotiate with the commander at Recife for a division of the commercial business in the two provinces, but the Netherlanders were unfavorable to the proposition as they wished the West India Company to have the monopoly.¹⁹ The probabilities are that this Pacheco was a Marrano, and subsequently openly joined his coreligionists at Recife. This Pacheco may have been the father of Moses Pacheco.

¹⁸ Basnage, "History of the Jews," translated by Tho. Taylor, London, 1708, p. 717; also Hannah Adams, "History of the Jews," (1812), vol. xvii, p. 43. Regarding him, Jost says, in his *Geschichte des Judenthum und Seiner Sekten*, vol. vii, p. 197, that his house in Amsterdam was used as the first place of religious meeting in that city for the Jews, and that after his death a synagogue was erected on its site.

¹⁹ See Barlaeus, *Brazilianische Geschichte*, Cleve, 1659, p. 665.

GERMAN JEWS IN WHITE LABOR SERVITUDE IN AMERICA.

BY GUIDO KISCH, J. U. D., RER. POL. D.

I.*

LETTERS AS SOURCES OF JEWISH HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

Letters and collections of letters form a considerable part of the literature of the Jews.¹ But the majority of the collected letters from olden times, both printed and in MS., consist of literary works, which can only be considered as letters as far as their form is concerned. This is true not only of the extensive literature of the so-called rabbinical *Responsa*, which contain decisions about questions of religious practice clothed in such form, but even of the writings with the title *Iggeret* or *Michtab*, which deal with matters of religious law and ethical, exegetical and other literary subjects.² The well-

* In preparation of this study the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and the American Jewish Historical Society in New York have put the treasures of their libraries at my disposal, for which I express my sincere thanks to the librarians Professor Alexander Marx and Edward D. Coleman.

¹ Cf. article "Letterwriting and Letterwriters" in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," New York and London, 1906, vol. viii, pp. 15-17; article *Briefliteratur, hebräische* in *Jüdisches Lexikon*, Berlin, 1927, vol. i, pp. 1167-1170; article *Brief und Briefliteratur* in *Encyclopaedia Judaica, Berlin*, 1929, vol. iv, pp. 1065-1072; also the essay *Jews and Letters* by Israel Abrahams, "The Book of Delight and Other Papers," Philadelphia, 1912, pp. 273-289; Adolf Kober, *Von Briefen, "Sendschreiben und Flugblättern als Nachrichtenquellen der jüdischen Vergangenheit"* in *Festschrift der jüdischen Sonderschau der Pressa 1928 Köln, Menorah*, vol. VI, Vienna, 1928, pp. 27-30.

² Cf. also in reference to the sequel, Ludwig Blau, *Leo Modenas Briefe und Schriftstücke, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Juden in*

known collections of model letters have frequently been taken from these writings.³ Although genuinely written letters do appear in them occasionally or form the basis of their explanations, yet they should not be spoken of as examples of letters in the true sense, that is of private letters, even as regards their form, principally because they have been written for publicity more or less consciously as the case may be and should be judged as literary and scholarly productions.

Even though the background of the history of the times and customs gleams through in these works,⁴ yet they do not give such an insight into contemporary conditions and matters of cultural history as private letters, which are written partly for personally practical aims and partly through the simple need to send information and are intended only for the receiver as a private individual. It is therefore with good cause that the interest of the present day and of modern historical research has turned towards these human documents, which do not merely reveal the external picture and experiences of men of bygone ages but also provide an immediate account of their feelings and sentiments. Georg Steinhausen paved the way for modern research into the

Italien und zur Geschichte des hebräischen Privatstiles, in *Jahresbericht der Landesrabbinerschule in Budapest für 1904-05 und 1905-06*, Budapest, 1905 and 1906, *Einleitung*, pp. 3-5; valuable comment by Nathan Porges in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, 1906, vol. X, pp. 1-13; cf. V. Aptowitzer in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 1909, vol. liii, pp. 750-752; Alfred Landau und Bernhard Wachstein, *Jüdische Privatbriefe aus dem Jahre 1619, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutsch-Österreich*, Vienna and Leipzig 1911, vol. iii, *Einleitung*, p. xv f.; and the valuable comment by Max Freudenthal in *Monatsschrift*, *supra*, 1911, vol. iv, pp. 366-370.

³ Cf. William Zeitlin, *Bibliotheca Epistolographica, Bibliographie der hebräischen Briefsteller*, in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, 1919, vol. xxii, pp. 32-47.

⁴ Cf. also Guido Kisch, "Research in Mediaeval Legal History of the Jews," in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 1934/35, vol. vi, p. 252 and note 47.

history of letters and developed it in several fundamental works.⁵

The distinction of being the first in modern days to recognise and utilize old Jewish private letters as an important source of Jewish history belongs to Ludwig Blau, who revised and edited the abundant correspondence of Leon da Modena (1571-1648) which provides a rich source of information for the knowledge of Jewish private life and thereby of the history of the culture and customs of the Jews from the turn of the 16th to the middle of the 17th century.⁶ Bernhard Wachstein, the distinguished Viennese scholar, who was equally excellent both as an editor and in his research into Jewish historical sources and who died in 1935, was the next after him to appreciate the scholastic value of the 17th century Jewish private letters.⁷ This investigation which must be called classic, can provide examples in every direction. He achieved a unique discovery by finding in the imperial state archives in Vienna a collection of 47 for the most part Judeo-German letters, which were all written on the afternoon of Friday, November 22, 1619, by Jews of Prague to their relations and acquaintances in Vienna. They were presumably intercepted on the way in the confusion of the war and never reached the hands of the persons to whom they were addressed. To this circumstance posterity owes the preservation of those documents, which reveal a picture as valuable as it is interesting of the conditions and mental reactions of the Jews of Prague at the beginning of the Thirty Years War.

On the other hand letters which were written by Jewish communities or their heads on matters concerning the com-

⁵ Georg Steinhausen, *Geschichte des deutschen Briefes*, two volumes, Berlin, 1889, 1891; *idem*, *Deutsche Privatbriefe des Mittelalters*, two volumes, Berlin, 1899, 1907.

⁶ Ludwig Blau, *supra*; Cecil Roth, "Leone da Modena and the Christian Hebraists of his Age," in "Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams," New York, 1927, pp. 384-401.

⁷ Bernhard Wachstein, *supra*.

munity, are not to be defined as private letters in the proper sense of the word. They mostly lack the personal note because they bear an official or semi-official character. Such letters were frequently written to fellow-believers in foreign lands to beg for help in times of trouble and particularly in order to avert threatening dangers. A number of letters of this sort from the 16th century have been preserved, which were exchanged between Jewish communities with reference to the last expulsion of the Jews from Silesia in 1535.⁸ A large number of such letters, so called *Relationen* date back to the middle of the 18th century (1744-1748) and deal with the expulsion of the Jews from Prague decreed by Maria Theresia.⁹ One cannot read these letters, which are taken from a collection belonging to the imperial *Oberhoffaktor* Wolf Wertheimer in Augsburg, the son of Samson Wertheimer in Vienna, and were published recently, without being deeply shocked at the injustice and misfortune done to the Jews and at the same time without being just as deeply moved at the indefatigableness with which every possible attempt was made in every possible place in every possible country in order to avert the danger. Incidentally these letters contain so much valuable material for the purpose of history, the history of culture and family history, that they could still be exploited with great profit in these directions.

Even the frequently, very topical Jewish family research which has grown up in the last decade and is making great advances in many circles has yet hardly opened up the im-

⁸ Louis Neustadt, *Die letzte Vertreibung der Juden in Schlesien*, second edition, Breslau, 1893.

⁹ Salomon Hugo Lieben, *Briefe von 1744-1748 über die Austreibung der Juden aus Prag*, in *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Juden in der tschechoslovakischen Republik*, 1932, vol. iv, pp. 353-479, therein p. 355 f. bibliography of the published letters about the same subject matter; comp. also Max Freudenthal in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, 1935, vol. vi, p. 61.

portant field of the discovery and editing of family letters.¹⁰ The whole research into the history of Jewish letters is in fact at the present time only in its beginnings. We must not be misled about that by the fact that an anthology of German-Jewish letters taken from three centuries was recently published,¹¹ which is not intended in the first place for scholastic circles. By means of selected characteristic letters of Jews, to Jews and about Jews it is merely an interesting cross-cut through the history of the Jews within the limits of German-speaking territory that is here provided by the display before the reader of these most personal documents of the lives of Jews amongst themselves and in their intercourse with non-Jews. But as a result of its being restricted to collections of letters that are already known and printed no new material has been made available by this publication.

On the other hand historians of Jewish learning and science have for a long time past and to an ever-increasing extent made use of the private correspondence of single scientists as a rich source for the discovery of happenings in the lives of important scholars and for the clearing up of the history of scientific ideas or institutions and intellectual movements. Particularly in recent years a large number of such private

¹⁰ In the general index for the first ten volumes of *Jüdische Familienforschung, Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Familienforschung*, Berlin, 1925-1934, there is found only one essay that deals with letters. However it is concerned purely with names but does not enter into detail as to the cultural-historical importance of these letters: N. Genss, *Jüdische Kaufmannsbriefe [aus Szkloff bei Mohileff] aus den Jahren 1780-1804*, 1929, vol. v, p. 203.

¹¹ Franz Kobler, *Juden und Judentum in deutschen Briefen aus drei Jahrhunderten*, Vienna, 1935, therein pp. 401-412 bibliography. In this connection mention should be made of the *Kriegsbriebe deutscher und österreichischer Juden*, edited by Eugen Tannenbaum. Berlin, 1915; cf. *Aus Briefen und Tagebüchern in Kriegsgedenkbuch der israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Nürnberg*, edited by Max Freudenthal, second edition, Nürnberg, 1921; *Gefallene deutsche Juden, Frontbriefe 1914-1918*, second edition of *Kriegsbriebe gefallener deutscher Juden*, Berlin, 1935.

letters in Hebrew and German have been saved from disappearance and made accessible for scientific research by being printed. Let us mention merely the well-known collections of letters of the following learned writers: Chaim Joseph David Azulaj, Akiba Eger, Moses Sofer and the descendants of the Sofer family; in addition the letters of Moses Mendelssohn, Solomon Loeb Rapoport, Isaac Samuel Reggio, Samuel David Luzzato, Abraham Geiger, Leopold Zunz and others. This brief reference to them must suffice as a complete enumeration of the publications to be taken into consideration is not possible here. To produce a bibliography of all the printed letters of Jewish scholars would be just as useful as it would be thankworthy a work. Many of them are buried in remote places and are thereby being lost to scientific research.¹² Others contain only occasional contributions to the history of the Jews or to the science of Judaism. I mean the numerous letters and correspondence of Jews who are outstanding in non-Jewish realms, in art and science, politics and commerce. They are not the less important for the discovery of the rôle which Judaism and its single representatives have played in the events of world history and therefore for the history of the Jews themselves.

The fact that letters can form a rich historical source of great importance has also not escaped the attention of American Jewish historical research. But the material of this kind of historical source which has so far come to light in America and which at the present time is at the disposal of the investigator in the realm of American Jewish history must still be described as extraordinarily slight. The reasons for this lie in the nature of the thing. In former times just as at the present day records were only preserved in private hands in the rarest cases, let alone survived generations. It was especially then

¹² E. g., letters of numerous Jewish scholars, addressed to Leopold Löw in Leopold Löw's *Gesammelte Schriften*, Szegedin, 1900, vol. v, pp. 95-224, to which my attention was recently and accidentally called.

and still is the custom to preserve records of every-day life only when legal documents are involved, such perhaps as patents of nobility, trade privileges, conveyancings of property, commercial contracts, documentary evidence of which are of legal importance not only for those immediately concerned with the legal proceedings, but also for their descendants and legal successors.

It is obvious that private family letters, such as we are considering here, hardly ever possess this quality of legal importance. The occasion for such letters and their character are therefore more ephemeral, arising out of the need of the moment to send information, and written with the intention of telling relations or friends about the contemporary experiences of the writer or of persons closely connected with him. The subject of such communications generally possesses, for both correspondents, only a momentary interest, which disappears again after quite a short time. The aim of such a letter is fulfilled for the sender as soon as it is written, and for the recipient as soon as he has read it. And that is the reason why only a very small number of Jewish family letters have been preserved from olden times, even in Europe.¹³ The same thing holds good for America. But two other considerations must be added here.

The need to write to members of one's family is almost always caused and conditioned by separation in space, by the difference between the places of residence of the writer and the receiver of the letter. Such a need to report experiences doubtless arose amongst settlers in America in early days for

¹³ The Jewish private letters and collections of letters that have already been published have been cited above. By information of Professor Alexander Marx there is found in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York a very copious collection of transcribed letters of an Italian Jewish author from the first half of the 16th century. Professor Marx is preparing this collection for publication. See also Umberto Cassuto, *Gli Ebrei a Firenze nell' Età del Rinascimento*, Firenze 1918, pp. 327-338, and passim.

the most part with regard to their families in Europe, but only to a lesser extent with regard to relations within the new world. There such a need could not arise until the whole of the new continent was gradually covered with European settlements, along with which the Jewish ones only advanced slowly. One is therefore tempted to presume that there must be letters in Europe sent from Jewish emigrants in America to their relatives in the home countries. It may be that such documents, which may possess great value as regards the history of civilization, are still in existence in the original form somewhere in Europe in public or family archives or in private possession. As far as I know nothing of the sort has been published in literature or even has become known, although we have ample information about the material dealing with American history in European state archives, through the praiseworthy publications of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.¹⁴

The second consideration, which has been partly responsible for the fact that so few private letters and particularly Jewish private letters have been preserved both in and outside America, played a great part even in Europe. The inadequacy of the means of transport and the uncertainty of the ways of communication resulted in the loss of many a letter soon after it was written, which might perhaps otherwise have come down to posterity. For the interception of letters was the rule during times of war and was not unusual at other times.¹⁵

¹⁴ No private Jewish letters from America are mentioned there; cf. Albert M. Friedenberg, in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, 1915, No. 23, pp. 91-103, especially Marion Dexter Learned, "Guide to the Manuscript Materials Relating to American History in the German State Archives," Washington, D. C., 1912.

¹⁵ For details about it see Landau and Wachstein, *supra*, p. xxx. Compare a Takkanah of Rabbenu Gershom of Mayence (960-1028) against reading a letter without the permission of the writer; Louis Finkelstein, *Jewish Self-Government in the Middle Ages*, New York 1924, pp. 31, 189, 201.

In letters that have come down to us from previous centuries there are many complaints about letters that had been lost and a deep sigh often escapes the writer: who knows whether the letter will arrive! How much more cause must there not have been for such doubts and fears until late in the 19th century, first of all for the voyage across the ocean to the emigrants' home and then within Europe itself for the route which often led through various countries before the destination was reached.

In the whole of the literature dealing with the history of the Jews in America, as far as I can survey it, the few private letters from members of the Bloch and Gratz families to their relatives in London are the only letters from Jewish emigrants sent to Europe, which have been preserved from former centuries, and have become known and been published.¹⁶ In particular no old private letters from Jewish emigrants, which were sent from America to Germany, have, up to the present time, come to light at all in the original. For a long time reports from the new world came thither merely indirectly. In 1763 Solomon Henry, son of Hirsch Zwi Bloch, sent from London to his parents in Langendorf in Prussian Silesia an account of his own about the fate of his brother Koppel Bloch, named Jacob Henry, of which he had been informed by American letters;¹⁷ and an account of a member of the Berlin

¹⁶ Published by William Vincent Byars, "B. and M. Gratz, Merchants in Philadelphia 1754-1798," Jefferson City, Mo., 1916. The documents, supposedly originals and rough drafts (more details about them are lacking) are found as Sulzberger MSS. in the archives of the American Jewish Historical Society in New York. The Society, moreover, possesses some other unpublished letter-material of the Gratz family of the aforementioned kind.

¹⁷ This letter, which corresponds with the document printed in English translation by Byars, *supra*, pp. 59-61, was already published one year before the appearance of Byars' work from the original in the Langendorf *Gemeindebuch* in the Judeo-German original text by Markus Brann, *Etwas von der schlesischen Landgemeinde in Festschrift zum siebenzigsten Geburtstage Jakob Guttmanns*, Leipzig,

family of Bleichröder, which was sent to his relatives in Berlin immediately after his arrival in New York on July 20, 1807, has only been handed down through being published in the Berlin Jewish periodical *Ha-Measeph*.¹⁸

The American Jewish letters which have so far been made accessible to scholastic research as historical documents are of another kind—apart from these that have been mentioned and a few exceptions still to be mentioned. It is a question of the correspondence of Jews with the presidents of the United States of America, Washington, Jefferson, Van Buren, partly political, partly private and sometimes also dealing with matters concerning the Jewish community.¹⁹ Moreover

1915, pp. 245-253. The family relationships of the Gratz and Henry (= Bloch) families which Brann disclosed there and set forth in the notes, offer important information about the origin and ancestry of the Gratz family in the small Silesian locality Langendorf (= Wielowisz). Concerning these relationships Byars in his work merely offers conjectures (cf. p. 37, note 1, p. 61, notes 1 and 2). Brann made an important contribution to the investigation of the Silesian origin and genealogy of the Gratz family, concerning which no statements are given in Henry Samuel Morais, "The Jews of Philadelphia," Philadelphia, 1894, pp. 269-273.

¹⁸ *Deutsche Zugabe zu dem ersten Heft des ersten Jahrgangs der Hebräischen Zeitschrift* המאסף, new series, Berlin, 1809, pp. 13-14. The letter is reproduced in an English translation by Max J. Kohler, in *Publications*, *supra*, 1901, No. 9, pp. 94-95. Extracts from two American-Jewish letters are further mentioned as historical sources by David Ottensosser, דיא געשיכטע דער יהודים, Fuerth, 1825, vol. iii, pp. 127 f.; one of them is written by Philipp Cohen a distinguished Jewish merchant of Charleston, in 1811, the other by Rev. Gershom Mendes Seixas of New York, the date of this is unknown; cf. also Mendel Silber, אמעריקא בספרת ישראל, St. Louis, 1920, pp. 16-20; *idem*, "America in Hebrew Literature," New Orleans, 1928, pp. 52-62.

¹⁹ See *Index to the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, Numbers 1 to 20*, 1914, p. 295, s. v. letter, p. 566 f., s. v. Washington, p. 257 f., s. v. Jefferson; Albert M. Friedenberg, in *Publications*, *supra*, 1914, No. 22, pp. 71-100. Cf. Samuel Oppenheim, in *Publications*, *supra*, 1917, No. 25, pp. 128-131.

a remarkable number of Jewish wills and testaments have been preserved from the early days of Jewish settlements in America, which ought perhaps to be mentioned in this connection.²⁰ All the rest of the letters of Jewish origin which have been unearthed in America only belong—with a few exceptions²¹—to the middle of the 19th century. They date back to the time when, with the rise of California, a stream of Jewish settlers also moved towards the gold country, which at that time constituted the goal of countless people from all parts of the world. Commercial reports and private letters, mostly sent from San Francisco to relatives in towns on the Atlantic coast, give information which is historically of the highest value about the doings of the first Jewish settlers and settlements in the far west of America.²²

Whereas this is a question of single accounts or small collections of letters, the famous business and private letters of Barnard and Michael Gratz (1754-1800)²³ and the great collection of letters of Rebecca Gratz (1808-1866)²⁴ containing several hundred letters and deeds, and covering over a century in time, constitute an historical monument of great wealth of content and of exceptional internal unity. By having pre-

²⁰ See *Index to the Publications, supra*, p. 576 s. v. wills of Jews; Lee M. Friedman, in *Publications, supra*, 1915, No. 23, pp. 147-161; *idem*, *Early American Jews*, Cambridge, Mass., 1934, pp. 61-89; Samuel Oppenheim, in *Publications, supra*, 1917, No. 25, pp. 87-91; *idem*, in *Publications, supra*, 1931, No. 32, pp. 55-64.

²¹ *Publications, supra*, contain some other material of minor importance. A complete enumeration is not intended to be given here; see the index to the *Publications, supra*, Nos. 21-33, in MS. in the archives of the American Jewish Historical Society.

²² David de Sola Pool, in *Publications, supra*, 1914, No. 22, pp. 167-169; Albert M. Friedenberg, *ibid.*, 1928, No. 31, pp. 135-171.

²³ Byars, *supra*; cf. Byars in *Publications, supra*, 1915, No. 23, pp. 1-23.

²⁴ David Philipson, in *Publications, supra*, 1925, No. 29, pp. 53-60; *idem*, "Letters of Rebecca Gratz," Philadelphia, 1929; cf. Rollin G. Osterweis, "Rebecca Gratz, A Study in Charm," New York and London, 1935.

served the beginnings, development and rise of a family which was soon prominent in the economic and Jewish life of America, as it were in a series of impressive photographic snapshots, these genuine Jewish family letters are equally important both for the history of American civilization in general and for the history of the Jews in America in particular.

II.

A JUDEO-GERMAN ACCOUNT BY LETTER OF AN AMERICAN JOURNEY IN 1818-1819.

With reference to the present status of research into the history of Jewish letters, which could here only be described hastily in rough outline and without any claims to completeness,²⁵ a Judeo-German account by letter dating back to the beginning of the 19th century of an American journey and of the experiences of the reporting European emigrant should doubtless raise claims to the scientific interest. By a lucky chance I recently succeeded in discovering such an account together with half a dozen other letters and records by and about the same person written in German and English in the years from 1818 to 1820.²⁶ The historical content of this collection constitutes, in my opinion, not only a unique contribution to American Jewish history, but also beyond the narrow bounds of valuation from the Jewish historical standpoint, a most interesting document for the history of American civilization. The following consideration of this find will emphasize the Jewish historical point of view, but will not thereby neglect the general background of the history of

²⁵ See chapter i of this study.

²⁶ The publication of the entire documentary material follows in the Appendix to this study. It was kindly placed at my disposal, together with the other MSS. mentioned, by the American Autograph Shop, Merion Station, Pa., for scientific treatment, for which I am very thankful.

civilization, without a knowledge of which a full scientific understanding would be impossible.

The author and writer of the letter, written in German in the Hebrew running hand and bearing the heading, Pitschbodem, June 27th 1819,²⁷ is Wolf Samuel from Brackenheim in Wuerttemberg. By Pitschbodem he means Peach Bottom, a little village in Peach Bottom township, York county, Pennsylvania.²⁸ The letter is addressed to Samuel Maier in Massenbachhausen near Heilbronn-on-the-Neckar in Württemberg, the sender's father.²⁹ It has only been preserved because it never reached Europe and the person to whom it was addressed.

So far it has not been possible to discover anything further about the origin and previous life of the writer of the letter, who was 22 years old when he arrived in America at the beginning of March, 1819, nor about the reason for his emigration.³⁰ He writes Hebrew and German with equally skilful strokes, which makes one conclude that he had some education. His language unmistakably betrays the dialect of

²⁷ See Appendix, the English translation in the text on p. 27 and p. 30.

²⁸ "Lippincott's New Gazetteer, a Complete Pronouncing Gazetteer or Geographical Dictionary of the World," edited by A. and L. Heilprin, Philadelphia and London, 1916, p. 1416: "Peach Bottom, a post-village in Peach Bottom township, York co., Pa., on the Susquehanna river and on the Maryland and Pennsylvania railroad; population of township in 1900: 1888, of the village about 150."

²⁹ The same envelope also contained another letter of Wolf Samuel in German and in German script with the address: *An Herrn Lekusch Moises and Mohul Gumbl Maschenbachhausen*; printed in the Appendix.

³⁰ I requested the state archives of Württemberg at Stuttgart to search for Wolf Samuel's petition to emigrate in the archive material mentioned by Learned, *supra*, pp. 305-306. In reply I received the following answer, dated Stuttgart, September 30, 1935: "Despite careful investigation into the related documentary material of the state-branch archives in Ludwigsburg, no notes about the Jew Wolf Samuel could be found." My investigations in the documents of the Jewish community of Heilbronn were also unsuccessful.

Swabia. In the various available documents which doubtless concern the same person—Wolf Samuel—his first name is sometimes called Wolf, sometimes William; in the oldest record the name Wolf is crossed out and replaced by the English William, and once the name Wilhelm appears. That, just as the changing of the German and Hebrew script in the records, is no mere superficiality. These outward signs show rather, that the letter-writer like the whole generation of German Jews on the threshold of the age of emancipation was still rooted in the Jewish mother earth, but had also already entered into the German cultural circle, which he was soon to change for the American.

Wolf Samuel's account of his journey to America and of his experiences and doings in the land of his desire and hope is unique in its kind. But not, of course, in the sense that one should expect a masterpiece of literary descriptive art and style as in the case in the American letter of Schmuel-Meijsehe, the hero of a short story by Jizchak Lejb Perez.³¹ Wolf Samuel is neither a stylist nor does he seem to have progressed beyond the average standard of a school education. Nevertheless this Jewish letter from America to Germany, up to the present presumably the only one that has been preserved in the original, should certainly be considered a unique document as regards the history of Jewish civilization. Moreover, it is an interesting document of American history of civilization on the whole. And that for various reasons and from different points of view.

First of all as a contribution to the history of Jewish emigration from Germany to America in the first decades of the 19th century. For in spite of the meritorious investigations of Max J. Kohler into the emigration of German Jews to America³² only very slight information for the time before

³¹ *Adam und Eva, Novellen*, by Jizchock Lejb Perez, German translation by Alexander Eliasberg, Berlin and Vienna, 1923, pp. 72-79.

³² Max J. Kohler, in *Publications, supra*, No. 9, pp. 87-105; cf. *idem*, "Jews in America," in "The Encyclopedia Americana," 1928, vol. xvi, p. 135.

1848 has up to the present been at the disposal of historical research.

It is well known that it is wrong to assume that the stream of German Jewish immigration into America in the 19th century did not begin until 1848. Numerous explicit references in non-Jewish and also sometimes in Jewish sources from earlier times prove this just as earlier foundations of Jewish communities in New York and elsewhere. But apart from the latter, Kohler can only quote the above mentioned Bleichröder letter from the year 1809 and another of non-Jewish origin from the year 1841 in order to prove that fact,²³ except for some later accounts of journeys. Nevertheless a brisk immigration of German Jews to America had already begun soon after the fall of Napoleon. In the short period of freer political life, which the occupation of German territory by the armies of the victorious conqueror had made possible, the legal and social position of the Jews had been considerably improved as a result of French legislation. In the reactionary period which followed the battle of Waterloo conditions changed fundamentally. They were the wretched years of the persecution of the demagogues in which the Jews also saw their hopes collapse, which they had cherished since the days of Moses Mendelssohn and Christian Wilhelm Dohm. Religious hatred, lust for plunder and desire for gain entered into a worthy alliance in order everywhere to threaten the tranquillity and safety, yes even the lives of the Jews, particularly in the year 1819 and in order to destroy their property.²⁴ Wolf Samuel's letter also bears the year 1819 as its date. That year saw many non-Jewish emigrants flee from the gloomy political and social atmosphere in their German home to seek freedom and happiness in a new world.²⁵ So it

²³ *Publications, supra.*

²⁴ See the detailed descriptions in the well-known Jewish histories of Heinrich Graetz, Simon Dubnow, and Ismar Elbogen.

²⁵ I have lying before me a MS., a small quarto tome of 58 pages which expresses in poetic garb the thoughts and opinions of a German

was in various German states, especially also in Wuerttemberg. It is no accident that documents have been preserved from that very year 1819 in the Stuttgart state archives about the North American colonising company in Stuttgart (= *Nord-amerikanische Kolonisationsgesellschaft in Stuttgart*) which

emigrant about Germany during the reaction's prime. The author is a non-Jew. The title of the volume reads: *Sinnreiche Einfälle in Stunden froher Laune über mein Vaterland Europa in Vergleich mit der Staatsverfassung und Landesbeschaffenheit der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, gewidmet für meine Freunde in Europa und Deutschland, von Franz Lohmeyer, in Baldimore, den 22. Februar 1834*. The introductory strophes, that follow here, reflect the conditions clearly.

Hell Dir Columpus! sey gepriesen!
 Sey hochverehrt in Ewigkeit!
 Du hast uns einen Weg gewiesen,
 Der uns aus harter Dienstbarkeit
 Erretten kann, wenn man es wagt
 Und seinem Vaterland entsagt.

Entledigt euch der Sklavenkette,
 Die euch und eure Kinder drückt!
 Auf! wählet euch die Blumenbeete
 Womit sich unser Boden schmückt!
 Ha! Er verschafft uns Fröhlichkeit
 Nach unserer harten Dienstbarkeit.

Wir sehn mit wehmutsvollem Blicke
 In die Vergangenheit zurück.
 Ja, wir verwünschen das Geschicke
 Das euch wie schwere Fesseln drückt,
 Wo euch fortwährend bis zum Tod
 Die harte Sklavenpeitsche droht.

Habt ihr bei allen Euern Sorgen .
 Auch oftmals nicht das liebe Brod;
 Bringt euch ein jeder neuer Morgen
 Nur neuen Gram und Hungersnoth,
 So tröstet eure Kinder da
 Mit diesem Land Amerika.

Euch, aber euch, ihr braven Brüder!
 Euch rathe ich, auf! folgt mir nach!
 Auf! werfet eure Fesseln nieder,
 Die ich zu meinem Glück zerbrach;
 Und kommet übers weite Meer
 Zu uns, ins Paradies hierher!

was set up for the establishment of overseas colonies and maintained an office in the Wuerttemberg capital.²⁶ That Jews also took part in this second wave of emigration from Wuerttemberg is proved by Wolf Samuel's letter. The ship *Vrouw Elizabeth* in which he sailed from Amsterdam, carried 96 passengers to America, including 6 Jews. Unfortunately we learn nothing about the origins and personalities of Samuel's Jewish fellow passengers. His account of the course of the journey is on the other hand all the more detailed.

It is particularly interesting. First on account of its specifically Jewish coloring and further because to my knowledge no descriptions by a Jewish pen out of the first half of the 19th century of the voyage across the world ocean, at that time just as dangerous as it was uncomfortable, have up to the present time come to light. The little known anonymous German-American sketches for Jewish emigrants and non-emigrants (= *Deutsch-amerikanische Skizzen für jüdische Auswanderer und Nichtauswanderer*) did not appear in Leipzig until 1857,²⁷ and the famous travel descriptions of Israel Joseph Benjamin were published even later, in 1862.²⁸

Wolf Samuel's account of his voyage is dated some 40 years earlier. I will let the letter writer from the year 1819 speak for himself by reproducing his account in a literal English translation.

PEACH BOTTOM, June 27, 1819.

Dear and unforgettable parents, brothers and sisters and cousins, they may live!

I must write to you for the first time from America. First of all I will describe my voyage across the sea. I left Amsterdam on September 13th with 96 passengers, including 6 Jews. First of all we entered the North Sea where I was seasick for four days. I thought I

²⁶ Learned, *supra*, p. 304, No. 686.

²⁷ *Schriften, herausgegeben vom Institute zur Förderung der israelitischen Literatur, Israelitische Volksbibliothek, Leipzig, 1857, vol. v.*

²⁸ J. J. Benjamin II, *Drei Jahre in Amerika 1859-1862*, Hannover, 1862.

was going to die. Then we had a very bad wind for a whole month and no prospect of getting to America. We hadn't much food left and the water was foul, and the passengers compelled the captain to put into the harbour in England. We dropped anchor on the first day of Succoth and went to the synagogue as soon as we arrived. The town was called Falmath [Falmouth]. We stayed there ten days. We put out to sea and again we met a great storm and we all thought that we were going down. The stores ran out a second time and the captain had to run for shore and we arrived in Cadiz in Spain, where none of us Jews was allowed in the town as our lives would not have been safe. We lay at Cadiz for 14 days. Then we left Cadiz and put out into the Atlantic Ocean and with a good wind arrived at Baltimore in 62 or 63 days, that is on February 12th after a voyage of 5 months.

There is little to be said about the account. It speaks for itself. The report may be completed by stating that on July 6, 1818, Samuel had already signed a bill of exchange in Amsterdam,³⁹ in which he bound himself to pay the sum of 190 guilders, the cost of the passage, to the order of F. Krebs and Son a week after his arrival in America, and at the same time subjected himself to the laws of the American states. The bill was endorsed in favour of Captain Hendrik Bredero by the creditors of the bill September 5, a proof of the accuracy of the date of the journey stated in the letter. There is moreover no cause to throw doubt upon the truth of the contents of the letter describing the course of the voyage.

We should gladly have learnt something about conditions on the ship during the crossing, about personal conditions and about the way in which the passengers were treated. No definite conclusion can be drawn from the fact that the account has nothing to say on that score. There does not seem to have been any occasion for particular complaints against the captain of the ship, but conditions and hardships on ocean voyages at the beginning of the 19th century were already bad enough in themselves. They must not have been very different from

³⁹ Printed in the appendix.

the miserable conditions in the previous century which have often been clearly described.⁴⁰ In his letter of complaint addressed to the council of York January 20, 1820⁴¹ Samuel mentions the following about the circumstances in which he arrived in America:

I myself was completely bereft of clothes. You can imagine that when a ship is at sea for seven months everything is worn out and in pieces. This is what I brought off the ship: one pair of corduroy trousers, which were not good, two shirts, an overcoat and a black coat, which were old. In short, my belongings were not worth 4 dollars.

We shall soon learn more about Samuel's experiences after his arrival.

One more remark here about the route of the voyage.⁴² It is interesting that Columbus' old route from Cadiz, which used to be taken by the first Maryland colonists, was still chosen in the 19th century for the journey to Baltimore.⁴³ It offered particular difficulties for the Jews because they were not allowed to land in Spain.

⁴⁰ Cf. Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Reise nach Pennsylvanien im Jahre 1750 und Rückreise nach Teutschland im Jahr 1754*, Stuttgart, 1756, translated from the German by Carl Theo. Eben: "Gottlieb Mittelberger's Journey to Pennsylvania in the Year 1750 and Return to Germany in the Year 1754," Philadelphia, 1898, pp. 18 ff.; Frank Ried Diffenderffer, "The German Immigration into Pennsylvania through the Port of Philadelphia, 1700 to 1775," part ii, Lancaster, Pa., 1900, also published in the Pennsylvania-German Society, "Proceedings," 1900, vol. x, pp. 177-187; A. Sartorius Freiherr von Waltershausen, *Die Arbeitsverfassung der englischen Kolonien in Nordamerika*, Strassburg, 1894, p. 56 f.

⁴¹ Printed in the appendix.

⁴² Sartorius, *supra*, p. 195 note 35: "The ships called from Rotterdam also at other English places like Falmouth, Portsmouth, Dover, Deal."

⁴³ Cf. J. H. Hollander, in *Publications*, *supra*, 1894, No. 2, p. 38, note.

III.

GERMAN JEWS IN WHITE LABOR SERVITUDE IN
PENNSYLVANIA.

However, more than the personality of Wolf Samuel and the description of his voyage, his fate in America must arouse the interest of the Jewish and non-Jewish historian.

The letter writer continues his description in the following manner :

And then the market was held. The Americans came and asked the captain how much they must pay for this one and that one and so on. Some had to serve three years for their passage and some four years. Then there came a Jew, a Dutchman, who had been in America seventeen years and was worth a million. He has a big plantation and 94 negroes, who have to work and I have to go out into the fields every day and see what they are doing. I have fine food, as good as the master himself. I shall have to serve two years for my passage and can make from three to four hundred Guilders in that time. When I arrived he gave me twelve shirts, four pairs of trousers, two pairs of boots and shoes for the Sabbath, an overcoat and two black coats. In short I'm living just like a gentleman and can smoke the best tobacco. He doesn't live in the town of Baltimore but twelve hours away ; three Jews live in the place. The plantation is four thousand acres and every month there is divine service 16 English miles away. Now my dear parents I cannot tell you much yet as I've only been here four months. I am, God be praised, in good health. Write and tell me all the news and what has happened in the district, and tell me if you receive my letter from Amsterdam. Coffee costs 8 cents a pound, that is 12 kreuzers and sugar 16 kreuzers. I can already speak English passably. I go to school every day for an hour and my master pays for it. The address here is English. You must write exactly as it is here or else your letter will not arrive. I cannot pay you back yet what you gave me. But I think the time will come when I can return to Germany again ; only have patience, time brings everything. My master lives in York county, Pennsylvania, 24 hours from Philadelphia. My master has 18 horses and 200 cattle, in short I couldn't wish to have a better time in my life than I am having. Now farewell and keep well until we see each other again. Wolf bar Schemuel.

The frightful picture of a white slave market, hitherto known only through the writings of American writers of travel and which reminds one of the African slavetrade, is here made alive by the description of one of its pitiable victims. When the ships with their human freight arrived in America, the captains usually inserted in the newspapers advertisements which gave descriptions of the passengers for sale, their nationality, age, sex, and the service for which they were said to be fitted. The servants were kept on ship-board where they could be seen, usually they were not allowed to leave the ship until their indentures had been purchased by someone who would advance the price of their passage, or until they had obtained responsible persons as references and security. Thereupon those desirous of making a purchase from the whole district streamed on board the ship, where the human freight could be examined and their working power obtained for a certain number of years by the payment of the costs of the passage.

The institution of the so called white servitude in recent times has been thoroughly investigated in an extensive scientific literature.⁴ It was caused by the fact that Europeans, before or after their immigration to America, mostly in order to reimburse the costs of the passage, voluntarily entered into a peculiar labor engagement for a certain number of years.

⁴Cf., also for the sequel, Cheesman A. Herrick, "White Servitude in Pennsylvania, Indentured and Redemption Labor in Colony and Commonwealth," Philadelphia 1926, pp. 309-326 a list of the older literature; of particular value from this are: Diffenderffer, *supra*, note 40; Karl Frederick Geiser, "Redemptioners and Indentured Servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," Supplement to *Yale Review*, New Haven, Conn., 1901, vol. x; Abbot Emerson Smith, "The Indentured Servant and Land Speculation in Seventeenth Century, Maryland," in *American Historical Review*, 1935, vol. xl, pp. 467-472. The sole work in German about this subject, no doubt, has already long since been outmoded by the more recent investigations but it has as yet not become antiquated: Sartorius von Waltershausen, *supra*, note 40, pp. 35-69.

It was not a bondage like the English villeinage regardant, which already in 1661 had been abolished by a law applying also for the colonies. But nevertheless this engagement put the laborer under a series of legal restrictions, not imposed upon the free citizens of the land. The labor servant bore the name of indentured servant or indented servant or bond servant; that is to say a contractually bound servant, so called from the indenture, a contract which was written in duplicate and divided into two parts by means of notches. The name redemptioner, as well as redeemed one, was also in current use, for the prevalent idea was that the financial debt had to be worked off.

The contents of the contract consisted of the following: The servant bound himself to work for a certain number of years, and the master had to pay a debt for him, chiefly the cost of his passage. He did not receive any wages, but the master gave him full maintenance, food, clothing, lodging and, at the end of the period of service, a special gift.

The conditions of service signified a form of labor-servitude, but not slavery. This follows already from the fact that the period of service was limited in time, whilst slavery lasted for life. The slave furthermore, as in Roman law, was an object, whereas the legal personality of the servant was recognized by law. His person was not the property of the employer; only his working-power belonged to the master for the contractually set period. The servant was himself able to acquire and possess property, to make contracts and to effect legal disposals himself. But in all these matters, he was subject to legal restrictions, which were based on the conditions of the labor-service. Similarly, he lacked the political rights of a free citizen. He could neither exercise the right to vote nor could he be elected to public or communal offices. The master had the authority to transfer his rights over the servant to another person. This right of sale was of great significance for the employer in matters of discipline to be applied if necessary against his servant. On the other hand the legal personality of the servant

was, moreover, recognized in that he could maintain his civil-legal claims against his master and against any other person just as any freeman. The servant was also allowed by law to bring his master to justice for any cruel or unjust treatment, especially if the latter did not observe the contractual obligations. The master had a right of moderate punishment over the servant, whose crimes and offences were subjected to the penal law of the land. A particular crime was the violation of the labor contract by running away. The recaptured runaway was for a time punished by death, but mostly by prolongation of his service.

Already in the 17th century white labor-servitude was customary in all the North American colonies and was introduced in any place where the English established their settlements. Under such working conditions did the largely preponderant majority of white dependent workers live until the end of the 18th century. White servitude was usual in the North American settlements in contrast to negro slavery in the south. The system of indentured servants was abolished comparatively late. At the end of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th it fell into disuse in the various American states partly through continuous non-application partly through express abolition. By the end of the first third of the 19th century it had completely disappeared.⁴⁵ The reasons for the abolition of labor-servitude were partly economic and partly political.

White working-servants were primarily supplied by the English, Irish and German, the Scotch, Welsh and French coming next. But it was hitherto unknown that *Jews also*⁴⁶ had

⁴⁵ Cf. Herrick, "White Servitude in Pennsylvania," pp. 265-266: "The indentured system continued much later than is generally supposed. Indeed, it did not disappear until near the close of the first third of the nineteenth century. The records which are preserved in the registry of redemptioners close in 1831".

⁴⁶ Concerning the participation of the Jews in the early American economic development, one is best informed by the comprehensive

to put themselves into legal labor-dependency, and this apparently not merely in isolated and exceptional cases. Principally it happened in order to work off their indebtedness caused by the costs of their transportation to America. It is more than doubtful, whether the name Mathias Sousa, discovered in a list of indentured servants in Maryland from an early period (1633-34), justifies the conclusion that its bearer was a Jewish servant.⁴⁷ But this question was passed over without any particular notice, much less any further investigation. However, at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century for example there are found in the records of indentured servants⁴⁸ and in the registers of the redemptioners of Philadelphia, which are in the possession of the historical society of Pennsylvania,⁴⁹ a considerable number of names undoubtedly Jewish. To draw up a list of Jews from the registers of the indentured servants or redemptioners and from the records of so-called runaways, that is white labor-servants who escaped, would be a time-consuming and toilsome

work of Hermann Wätjen, *Das Judentum und die Anfänge der modernen Kolonisation*, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1914, also in *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1913, vol. xi, pp. 338-368, 565-606.

⁴⁷ Comp. Hollander, in *Publication, supra*, No. 2, p. 37 note: "Beyond the distinctiveness of the surname, there is no evidence of Jewish faith".

⁴⁸ "Record of the Indentures of Individuals Bound out as Apprentices, Servants, etc., and of German and Other Redemptioners in the Office of the Mayor of the City of Philadelphia, Oct. 3, 1771 to Oct. 5, 1773," in *The Pennsylvania-German Society, Proceedings*, 1907, vol. xvi, pp. 1-325. I note here the following as presumably being names of Jews: p. 46, 1771, Dec. 20: Daniel Wolff; p. 56, 1772, Jan. 23: Jonas Katz; p. 74, 1772, Apr. 9: William Leib; p. 92, 1772, May 20: Isaak Benjamin; p. 182, 1772, Dec. 28: Michael Levy; p. 192, 1773, Jan. 26: Jacob Katz; p. 222, 1773, May 10: James Beer; p. 290, 1773, Sept. 6: Jacob Sucher.

⁴⁹ Information kindly given by letter of Julian P. Boyd, librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, Sept. 16, 1935. Unfortunately my request for the sending of the MS. material to a New York library for my use could not be granted.

task. But such a research would throw light upon the participation of the Jews in white labor-servitude. Apart from the results on the history of persons and families, it would open up an entirely new chapter in the history of Jewish immigration to America.

The history of Wolf Samuel's life presents the first contribution. About his biography we are informed not only by his first report to his parents; but we can also follow up his fate more closely upon the basis of official documents from the moment that he was hired out and during his servitude. According to these documents, his life in America does not appear in the roseate light of his first letter home. Its description was then partly permeated by a joyous and hopeful optimism. In part it was inspired by love and pride, which did not allow the letter-writer to admit the difficulties and sufferings to which he was exposed in the land of his hope and future. For the road to the dreamed-of freedom led first of all directly into servitude.

On February 12, 1819, the ship *Vrouw Elizabeth* had arrived in Baltimore with a number of immigrants, who before embarking had bound themselves to the usual conditions of redemptioners like Wolf Samuel. But when they reached the American continent, they refused to comply with their agreements. They therefore appealed to the German society of Maryland, which after 1818 endeavored to do away with the evils that had hitherto prevailed in the importation, sale and treatment of redemptioners from Germany and Switzerland. But in this case the officers of the society refused to countenance this action and wrote a letter to them, in which they said that as the captain of the ship had treated them with the utmost kindness, they must comply with their contracts and that the society would not countenance their attempt to evade their honest obligations.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Cf. about the redemptioner passengers of the ship *Vrouw Elizabeth* in detail Diffenderfer, *supra*, p. 283.

Thus it probably happened, that after his arrival in America it took four weeks until Wolf Samuel, who evidently was in no way qualified for any particular profession, found a master in the person of the wealthy farmer Stephen Boyd of York. The indenture authenticated before the state commissioner of Maryland in Baltimore, is dated as of March 10, 1819.⁵¹ Stephen Boyd paid the ship's captain the amount of 190 guilders for the cost of Samuel's transportation, the equivalent of 76 dollars. For this, according to the contract, Wolf Samuel had to serve three years and two months from the date of the contract, that is up to May 10, 1822, as a servant. Boyd, on his side, bound himself to provide for his servant during this period food, clothing and lodging, at the expiration of the contract he was to pay Samuel the amount of 40 dollars, instead of the freedom dues, which varied in the different districts.

The assertion in Samuel's letter that his master was a Dutch Jew is incorrect. He was neither a Jew nor a Dutchman. This we learn without a doubt from MS. genealogical records of the Boyd-Stump families.⁵² Since Boyd then was still unmarried⁵² the servant Samuel was lodged in the house of Boyd's parents in Peach Bottom township. Whether his statements concerning his activities as overseer of Boyd's slaves rest upon truth cannot be verified. However, it is known that as early as the 18th century, when their number

⁵¹ Printed in the Appendix.

⁵² Family book of genealogy of the Stump and Boyd families, in MS. form, written by Mrs. Duckett Stump for her children: "Duckett Stump's Book of her Children's Births, Deaths and Marriages". Therein p. 3 is found the following entry: "Stephen Boyd and Eliza C[oo]per] Stump was married February 15th, 1821, by [Rev.] William Stephenson." Boyd's father is designated in the documents as "Esa Boyd". Whether he is perhaps identical with the Samuel Boyd, who himself according to the "Record of Indentures . . . of Philadelphia," *supra*, p. 272, worked as an indentured servant in Philadelphia, is not certain. Cf. also note 58.

was on the decline, the servants often used to be employed as overseers of black slaves.⁵³

Samuel's relations with his master at first seem to have been tolerable, although he had to complain about inadequate clothing and insufficient food from the very beginning. But his occupation as overseer of Boyd's slaves changed as early as the autumn of 1819, when Boyd bought land in Maryland on the Susquehanna river. There Samuel and three negroes with the cooperation of the master himself had to work hard in the water for a whole month at laying out a fish-reservoir. In consequence he became sick with the so-called cold fever (ague) and lay in bed for 14 days. As during this time he could not work at all at first and later only in limited amounts, his treatment and nourishment became continually worse. He was forced into work that he was physically unable to perform. This led again to personal differences, to disputes and quarrels and finally to the violent illtreatment of Samuel. All this caused the sick and unfortunate servant to seek justice before the courts. He wrote a detailed complaint and plea to the council at York in German, which he began to write on January 30, 1820, and finished on February 27, 1820.⁵⁴ The facts of the case here presented in brief are there described in full detail. Besides the illtreatment, the lack of clothing with which the master was obliged to supply his servant was an especially stressed cause of grievance.

The envelope of the document bears the date-entry Peach Bottom, March 24, by a hand other than Samuel's. Moreover, the document seems never to have been dispatched to York. It is very unlikely that it was not sent off by the writer. Whether it was intercepted by anyone—perhaps by the master—cannot be stated with certainty. But one thing is certain. No official step was taken in favor of Samuel. For two months he waited in vain. Once again he endeavored to obtain

⁵³ Comp. Sartorius von Waltershausen, *loco cit.*, p. 64.

⁵⁴ Printed in the Appendix.

justice from the judge by means of complaint. After the failure of his own letter in German, he did not write again. A short petition approximately of the same contents as the former, but composed in English by a third hand,⁵⁵ is the last outcry of the tormented servant, who seeks justice but cannot find it. It concludes with these words:

Such abusing of the German will be the cause that many of them will run away.

The human and legal tragedy of the Jewish indentured servant reached its culmination. Again Samuel waited in vain for an answer and for the hoped-for summons before the court in York; likewise, in vain, did his parents, brothers and sisters in Massenbachhausen await a report from America. For all the letters and documents of Wolf Samuel, of which we have spoken up to now, never reached their addressees. Probably we will never succeed fully in explaining how they came into the possession of Stephen Boyd. But it appears, and is indeed highly probable that they were intercepted by him. For they lay 115 years well guarded and unopened together with the papers of the Boyd family, which only a few months ago came to a bookseller's shop.

And what of the fate of the German Jew Wolf Samuel, who in America sought freedom and happiness and found instead in the land of freedom the lot of a slave? His English letter of complaint is his last written utterance in the documents. Consequently, at first, I thought that perhaps he must have died of fever; and that thus the number of nameless martyrs, who over 1 hundred years ago or more performed pioneer work in this country, and lived and suffered, was augmented by a Jewish name. His fate would then have certainly been enveloped by obscurity had not Stephen Boyd kept a careful record of all his undertakings and affairs. Just as he left behind a precise diary about his informational trip to Indiana

⁵⁵ Printed in the Appendix.

in 1816,⁵⁶ so also did he keep an exact book of his business expenditures. My persevering search in the available documents let me discover a small loose note on paper where Stephen Boyd had noted down all his expenditures for his servant Samuel.⁵⁷ The last lines read as follows:

May the 7, 1820 William Samuel absconded from my service, expenses following him.....	\$4.50
Advertising him in the Recorder.....	1.00
Loss of time on search.....	6.00

An almost unbelievable accident led to a further discovery in an entirely different place. It is Boyd's advertisement in the *York Recorder*, May 24, 1820, in which an exact description of the fugitive servant is given, for whose arrest and delivery to the nearest prison or to his master a reward of five dollars is promised.⁵⁸ Moreover, the most interesting thing is that Boyd in his advertisement even refers to the aforementioned petition in English of his escaped servant.⁵⁹

With this the historical documents concerning Wolf Samuel are finally exhausted. The question as to whether he was seized or allowed to enjoy permanently the freedom attained through his own efforts must remain unanswered. Perhaps some day a similarly fortunate discovery of documents like mine may throw more light upon his later fate. He was probably not the only Jewish indentured servant, who forced his way into freedom out of sheer despair. Certainly however, he is as yet the only one, whose sad fate as a slave is known to us in full detail. These reports at the same time

⁵⁶ Cf. *American Clipper*, 1935, vol. ii, p. 19 f.

⁵⁷ Printed in the Appendix.

⁵⁸ Printed in the Appendix. The newspaper has on its first page an old entry of the possessor: John Boyd. In the *Record of Indentures . . . of Philadelphia*, *supra*, p. 282 under the date August 25, 1773, a John Boyd is designated as an indentured servant.

⁵⁹ Boyd writes: ". . . a servant man, who, while he was with me, went by the name of William Samuel, but I find in a letter, he calls himself William Samuel Verrend".

throw a glaring light upon the contrasts in the social and economic position of the Jews in America at the beginning of the 19th century, when there were also to be found amongst them great wealth and prosperity.

IV.

APPENDIX

1.

No. 31.

2½ St

Klein-Zegel.

AMSTERDAM, 6. July 1818 fur f 190.

Agt Tage nach Ankunfft in America zahle ich gegen diesen Sola-Wechselbrief an die Ordre Herrn F. Krebs & Zoon die Summa van Einhondert Neintzig Guldens. Werth Empfangen, und unterwerffe mich denen Gesetzte der Americanisch Staaten.

WOLF SAMUEL.

Für uns an die Ordre des Capitains Hendrik Bredero.

Amsterdam, 5. Sept. 1818.

F. KREBS & ZOON.

Voldaan aan Bord, den 10. Maart 1819.

H. BREDERO.

Exhibited the 10th March 1819.

WILLIAM ¹ SAMUEL.

LAUR. THOMSEN.

2.¹

No. 187

THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH: That *William Samuel late of Brackenheim in Wurtemberg* of the age of *twenty two years* hath put *himself* and by these Presents doth voluntarily and of *his own free will* and accord put *himself as servant* to *Stephen Boyd of York County Pennsylvania* to serve the said *Master* from the day of the date hereof for and during the term of *three years and two months* next ensuing the date of these Presents. During all which term the said *servant* said *Master* faithfully shall serve, his secrets keep, his lawful commands every where readily obey; *he* shall do no damage to *his* said *Master* nor see it done or to be done by others without giving

¹ Originally he has written: Wolf; but that word has been crossed out and replaced by William.

notice thereof to *his* said Master; he shall not waste *his* said Masters goods, nor lend them unlawfully to any; *he* shall not contract matrimony within the said term; with *his* own goods, nor with the goods of others, without license from *his* said Master, *he* shall neither buy nor sell; *he* shall not absent *himself*, day nor night, from *his* said Master's service, without leave; nor haunt dramshops, taverns or play houses; but in all things behave *himself* as a faithful *servant*, ought to do, during the said term.

And the said Master hereby obligates himself to provide for the said *William Samuel* sufficient Meat, Drink, *Clothing*, Lodging and Washing, fitting for a *servant*; and to permit the said *servant* to attend public Worship on all Sundays and Holidays, during the said term, and at the expiration thereof to give *him in lieu of Freedom Dues*¹ *the sum of Forty Dollars in money.*

And for the true performance of all and singular the covenants and agreements aforesaid, the said parties bind themselves each unto the other firmly by these Presents. In Witness whereof the said parties have interchangeably set their hands and seals hereunto.

Dated the *10th* day of *March* in the year one thousand eight hundred and *Nineteen*.

Signed, sealed and delivered

in the presence of

Laur. Thomsen.

Stephen Boyd. Seal.

William Samuel. Seal.

State of Maryland, }
City of Baltimore, Sct. }

On this *10th* day of *March* in the year one thousand eight hundred and *Nineteen* before me the subscriber, Register under the Act of Assembly, "relating to German and Swiss Redemptioners," personally came the within named *William Samuel and Stephen Boyd* and acknowledged the within Instrument of Writing to be their Act and Deed.

Acknowledged before, and Approved of by me

Laur. Thomsen.

¹ The italicized words are inserted in the printed form by hand. On the back of the original the following MS. note is to be found: Indenture William Samuel to Stephen Boyd, received to be recorded the 1st day of April 1819, same day recorded among the records of Baltimore County in Liber N G No. A folio 161 and examined.

M. GIBSON.

² The following words printed in the form have been crossed out: "according to the Custom of the Country, of the Value of not less than."

3¹

The letter writer's language shows the dialect of Swabia; for instance he uses כ instead of פ, ג instead of ק, ד instead of ט, ז instead of ס, and other more. פאסאבעל = באזאבעל, פאר = באר, פאקען = גוגען, פאר = באר, פאסאבעל = באזאבעל, טאג = דאג, a. o. m. The expression "February" shows already the influence of the English language on the letter writer.

PITSCHBODEM, den 27ten Juny 1819.

ליבע אונד אונפערגעסליכע עלדרן אונד געשוויסטער אונד פעטער אונד
באס ש'יחי'.

איך מוז אייך צום ערסטן מאהל אויז אממעריקע שרייבען. בעפאר
ווייל איך שרייבען מינע ריי[ז]ע אויף דער זעע. איך רייסטע פון אממ-
שטערטאם דען 13טן דעם זעכטעמער מיט 96 באזאשירס, ווארנטער 6
ידן. וויר קאממען צום ערשטן אין דער נארט זעע, ווא איך 4 דאג דיא
זעע גראנגהייט האטטע. איך גלאויבטע, איך מוז שטערבען, נון האטען
וויר זער שלעכטן ווירד איינן גאנצען מאנאט, אונד האבען קיינע
אויזיכט נאך אממעריקע צי קאממען. נון האטען וויר ניכט פיל לעבענס-
מיטל מעהר אונד שטיקענט וואסער, אונד דיא באסאשירס נעגטיגען
דען קאביטען, אין איינען האפען צי לויפען אין ענגלאנט. נון קאמען
וויר פראנקער אים ערסטן טאג פון סונס, אונד געהען אין די שיל
זאנלייך, אלז וויר קאממן. די שטאט הייסט פאלמאהט. דא זיין וויר
צעהן טעג. וויר געהן אין דער זעע אונד האטטען וויר גראסען שטורם.
וויר גלויבטען אלץ, מיר געהן אונד אין מער. נון געט דיא לעבענס-
מיטל צום 2טן מאהל אויז, אונד דער קאכטען מוסט ווידער איין
לאויפען, און וויר קאממן נאך קאטיגס אין שפאניען, ווא קיין פון אונס
יודן דארף אין דיא שטאט געהן, וויר ווערן דס לעבן ניכט זיכר. אין
קאטיגס לאגען וויר 14 טאג. נון גען וויר פין קאטיגס אין דש אטלאנ-
דישע מער, אונד וויר בעקאממען גוטן ווינט, אונד קאממען אין 2 אדר
63 טאג אין בארדעמאר אן, דש איז דען 12 דען פעברוואהרי, איינע
רייסע פון 5 מאנאט.

נון ווירד דער מארק געהאלדן. דא קאממן דיא אמעריקאנער אונד
פראנטן דען קאכטען, וויא פיל מוז דען מאן בעצאהלן אונד וויאפיל
דער אונד אלז זא פארט. איינ טהייל מוזטן 3 יאהר פאר איר פראכט
טינען, איינ טהייל 4 יאהר. נאיי קאמט איין יוט איין האללענטער, דער
איז דאנט 17 יאהר אין אמעריקע, איין מיליאהן רייך. ער האט איינע
גראסע בלאנטאס אונד 94 נעגער. דיא מיסען ארבייטען אונד איך מוז
אללע טאג געהן אויז אונס פעלד, מוז גוגען, וואס דיא ארבייטן. איך
האבע דש בעסטא עסען, זא גוט אלז דער העער זעלבט. איך מוז פרא-
מינע פראכט 2 יאהר דינען. איך קאן מיר אין דער צייט 3 בים 4 הונד

¹The reproduction follows the original, only the punctuation has been inserted.

דערט גולדן מאכן. וויא איך קוממע, געב מיר 12 העמטר, 4 באר האסען, 2 באר שטיפל אונד שוה פאר שבת איין איברואס אונד 2 פראג. קארצ איך האב עס גלייך איין הער, דען בעסטן דאבאס קאן איך רויכען. דער מאן וואהנט נישט אין דען שטאהט באלדעמר, 12 שטונטען פון באלדעמאר, עס וואנען 3 יודן אויף דעםם בלאטצ. דיא בלאנטאש האט 4000 עגר, אלען חדש איין מאל שולען, 16 ענגליש מייל.

נון ליבע עלדרן איך קאן אייך נאך נישט פיל שרייבע, איך בען ערשט 4 מאנאט היר. איך בין גאטלאב רעכט געסונט. אונד שרייב מיר אללע נייאיכקייטן, וואס אין דער געגענט באסירט. (איך) אונד שרייב מיר, אב דוא דען בריף פון אממסטערטאם ערהאלדען האסט. קאפפע קאסט פפונט 8 זענט, דש איז 12×3 גרייטצ, ציגער 16×2 . איך שברעכע שאנט באזאבעל ענגליש, איך געהא אללע טאג איין שטונט אין דיא שול, מיין העער בעצאלט עס. דיא אטרעס היר איז ענגליש, דוא מוזט עס גראט שרייבען, וויא עס שטעהט היר, שונסט קאן דיין בריף נישט קומן הער. איך קאן אייך נאכ נישט בעצאהלען, וואס איהר מיר גטאהן האבט. איך דענקג אבר, דיא צייט קאמט, דש איך ווירד רייסע נאך דייטשלאנט. נור געדולט. מיט דער צייט קאמט אללעס. מיין הער וואנט אין יארק קאמיטי³ פענסילפאניען, 24 שטונטען פאן פילאטעלפאיא. מיין הער האט 18 פפערט, 200 אגסען אונד קיא. קארצ געסאגט, איך וואלד עס מיר אין מיין לעבן נישט בעסר ווינשען, אלז איך עס ווירקליך האבע. נון לעבעט וואהל אונד געזונט ביס וויר אונס ווירד איין מאהל זעהן. וואלף בר שמואהל.

An Herrn Samuel Maier
in Massenbachhausen bei Heilbronn
im Königreich Württemberg in Europa.

4.¹

An meine Unvergessliche Kamratten!

Liebe Kamratten, ich muss euch schreiben, dass ich euch 3 Monat habe gar nicht vergessen kenen. Ich muss euch insovern vergessen, weil ich euch nicht kan sehen und sprechen. Ganz wird ich euch nie vergessen. Ich hoffe dassgleichen von euch. Ich glaube, ich kan keine so getreue Kamratten mer in der Welt finden. Sie werden mir uhnvergeslich bleiben in meinen Herz. Sie haben mir villes gethan an meiner abreisen. Nun ich sage euch dausend mahl Dank davir, bis ich es kan wider bezalen, und ich muss euch schreiben vom

² x Abbreviation for *Kreuzer*.

³ The writer means evidently county.

¹ This letter was found in the same envelope with the letter Nr. 3. Therefore it is certain that it was written also June 27, 1819.

andern geschlecht aller arten genug. Nun lebet wohl und glücklich auf Erden, bis wir uns wider sehen, und schreibet mir alle Neuigkeiten, was basird. Ich kan euch nicht mehr schreiben, dass gottlob gesund bin, ich von euch desgleichen hofe. Ich kan den briff nicht frey Machen, weil er über den See geht. Eüer bester Freund

WOLF SAMUEL.

Die Adress gleich dem:
Stephen Boyd of
York County Pensylvania,
North America.²

Stefan Boid in york Kandy Pensilvanien Nord-Amerika, das ist ein grosser Kaufman.

An Herrn Lekusch Moises
und Mohul Gumbel
Maschenbachhausen.

5.¹

Den 10ten Merz 1819 Kam Stefan Boid an das Schiff Frau Eliesabet, und es waren nicht mehr als 14 Man auff der Brick, es kam ein Deutscher mit im. Kurz wir machten einen Barien³: er bezahlte meine Fracht, die in 76 Daller³ bestund oder 190 Gulten; vor das habe ich zu dienen 3 Jahr und 2 Monat, und wen ich frey bin, hat er mir zu bezahlen 40 Daller³ oder 100 Gulten, gleichwie mein Kontrakt lautet. Ich stehe hier bey Stefen Vater, weil mein Herr ist nicht verheirathet, bis den 30ten Januari 1820, da ich dieses schreibe, und ich wünscht ich brauchte es nicht, aber die Noth erforderte es. Ich lasse meinem Herrn sagen durch einen Deutschen von Baldemor, weil ich nicht selbst sprechen kann, "kauf mir Kleider, was ich zu meiner Nothurft brauche"; den ich selbst war ganz endblöst mit gleiter.⁴ Ein Mensch kan sich vorstellen, wan ein Schiff 7 Monat in der See ist, das alles vereist und in Sticken⁵ gehet. Was ich vom Schiff brachte is das: ein par manschesterne Hosen, die nicht gut waren, 2 Hemten, alte,

² The name with the address was written by Stephen Boyd.

¹ The envelope of this document bears the date-entry "Peach Bottom, March 24th" by a hand other than Samuel's.

² = bargain (Vertrag).

³ = Dollar.

⁴ = Kleider.

⁵ = Stücke.

ein Überrock und Fraag,⁶ die alt waren, kurz mein Mebel⁷ ist keine 4 Daller⁸ wert. Mein Herr sagte: "Wen du nach Haus komst, ich habe genug gleiter.⁴" Ich war unwissend der Sache und glaubte, was er sagte. Wir kamen nach Haus in Zeit von 2 Tage, 40 Meil vom Baltemor,⁸ er lebte in Pfizbodom⁹ Taunschip.¹⁰ Den nemlichen Dag,¹¹ wir kamen nach Haus, mein Herr gibt mir ein altes par Hosen, ein alten rock, ich wollte es nicht kaufen for 50 Send.¹² Er kaufte mir ein par Schu und einen Hut vor einen Daller. Das is die ganze geschichte, die er mir kaufte.

Nach diesem lebten wir mittelmesich; mir gefalte zwar die Kost nicht, alle dag zwey mahl Mosch¹³ und saure Buttermilch. Ich konde es im anfang mitunter nich geniessen, ich werde es nach und nach gewohnd. Ich wolte von diesen allem nicht sagen.

Nach diesem mein Herr kaufte einen Platz in Marieland Haffert. Kaunti an der Schussquhännafluss,¹⁴ nahe bey Medols Eilland, for eine Fissery¹⁵ zu bilten.¹⁶ Ich muste also arbeiden in dem Wasser mit 3 Negers einen ganzen Monat. Mein Herr arbeit zwar selbst, wan es ihm gefalt. Ich wolte das alles nicht achten, ein Servand muss arbeiten, was sein Herr befelt. Ich grige¹⁷ aber den ague, oder dass kalte Fieber. Den das Wasserarbeiten verursachte es. 27 dag in dem Wasser gearbeitet und 2 dage nach diesem den ague gehabt; und mein Herr sagte mir, "du kanst nach Hause gehen." Ich hatte 10 Meil nach Hause. Ich brobirte¹⁸ es und brauchte einen ganzen dag. Ich komme nach Hauss, mein Alter Herr und Frau machten mir böse Gesichter, und ich der arme Mensch konde¹⁹ gar nicht helfen. Den andern dag ich bin sehr grang²⁰ und hatte 14 tage alle dag das Frieren und zittern, und ich war sehr schwach. Meine Leite²¹

⁶ = Frack.

⁷ = Möbel.

⁸ = Baltimore.

⁹ = Peach Bottom.

¹⁰ = Township.

¹¹ = Tag.

¹² = Cent.

¹³ = mash.

¹⁴ = Susquehanna.

¹⁵ = fishery.

¹⁶ = to build.

¹⁷ = kriege.

¹⁸ = probierte.

¹⁹ = konnte.

²⁰ = krank.

²¹ = Leute.

in dem Haus können mich nicht sehen ein Bissen geniessen, weil ich nicht arbeite. Ich sagte meine alte Frau vor ein wenig gederte Pferschich,²² weil ich kein Apetit hatte zu die tägliche Schbeisen,²³ und sie machte mir gar nichts besonders. Sie gab mir zur andwort, "ich habe sehr wenig und kan dir keine geben"; und ich weis, sie hatte mehr als 2 Buschel.²⁴

Mein Herr aber hatte den ague sowohl als ich, ein Mensch solten gesehen haben, was die alte, nemlich seine Mutter, ihm zu essen gab alle Tage, sie backte und kochte, was er verlangte. Von diesem wolte ich nicht sagen, es ist seine Mutter; sie solte aber denken, ich bin so gut ein Mensch als ihr Sohn, und solte kein unterschied gemacht haben! Ich hatte als über den andern Tag den ageu²⁵ und Kopfwch uhnerdräglich.²⁶ Mein alter Herr, nemlich Esa Boyd, sagte mir, "das ist nichts, Du kanst arbeiten ein wenig, hacke Holz, fieter²⁷ das Vieh." Was solte ich armer Mensch thun; wan ich sagte, ich kan es nicht, da fangt der Streit an; und ich denke, ich will es thun in Gottes Name. Ich weinde²⁸ vielmal, wan ich allein gewesen bin. Mein Herr hatte die nämliche grankheit,²⁹ er gehet nicht aus dem Haus.

Nun ereignete sich ein fürchterlicher Streit. Eine Meile von meinem Hause lebte ein Schmit³⁰ namens Andres Weille. Dieser kam den 9ten November 1819 zu meinem Herr und fragte, ob mein Herr mir es erlauben wolte, ihm seine Kuh zu schlachten, weil ich ein wenig von diesem Handwerk verstunde, mein Fater³¹ ist ein Mezger. Mein Herr erlaubte es, ich gehe mit ihm nach Hause, wir schlachten die Kuh und verfertigen alles in ordnung. Die Frau gab mir ein Stück Fleisch vor meinen Herrn, und gab mir ein Schnupf-duch,³² das Fleisch nachhause zu tragen. Sie sagte, "bringe mir das Schnupfduch Sondag witer"³³; den dag, wo mir³⁴ geschlachtet haben, war Donerstag. Ich gehe Sondag den 12ten und überliefre mein

²² = Pfirsiche.

²³ = Speisen.

²⁴ = bushel.

²⁵ = ague.

²⁶ = unerträglich.

²⁷ = füttere.

²⁸ = weinte.

²⁹ = Krankheit.

³⁰ = Schmied.

³¹ = Vater.

³² = Schnupftuch.

³³ = wieder.

³⁴ = wir.

Sakduch.³⁵ Ich kam nach Hause ein Virdelstunde vor Nacht. Da solte ein Mensch gesehen haben das Fluchen und Schweren von meinen alten Herrn, es war unendsezlich. Das erste war: "Du laufest in der Nachbarschaft und schbrechst³⁶ von meinem Hause; ich bendige dich"; er schwerte: "Bey Himmel, ich bringe dich vor dem Raht in York"; ich sagte: "Ich wunsche, du detest³⁷ mich nauf³⁸ bringen"; er sagte: "Du wilst vor den Raht gehen, Gott verdamme Dein Blut"; so geschwind er hörte, ich wil vor den Court gehen, er sagte: "Halte deinen Mund, oder ich bridle³⁹ dich, ich bin der rechte Mann!" Wer ist armer, den ich dazumahl, ich durfte nicht schbrechen⁴⁰ und so schwach von dem viewer.⁴¹ Ich dachte, Gott soll sich erbarmen über solche Richter, wie mein Herr einer ist. Das Fluchen ist Grausamkeit vor dem Zuherer;⁴² ich hatte zwey Zeigen,⁴³ ein Weissen Mann von 21 Jahren und einen Neger von 16 Jahre bey dieser geschichte.

Den folgenden Morgen fangt der Wegmeister an, die Schtrassen⁴⁴ zu machen. Mein Herr schikte mich und seinen Sohn John und ein baund Man⁴⁵ hinaus und befal seinem Son, wan ich sagte, ich habe den ageu, "schike ihn nach Hause, ich will ihn bändigen." Wir gehen an dem Pfizbodom,⁴⁶ wo der anfang ist. Ich war keine zwey Stunde dort gewesen, habe ich das viefer gehabt. Es lebten ein man im Pfizbodom Georg Mekommen, in dessen Haus ich war, der mir es bezeigen kan; und alle die an der strasse gearbeitet haben, sahen, das ich ein gesicht habe wie der tod. Ich fragte meinen Herrn das zweyde mahl vor gleiter,⁴⁷ er wolte mich nicht heren.⁴⁸

Nun ich sehe, es kan gar nicht helfen, ich muss mich an den Hochlöblichen Raht in York wenden und mich und mein alten und junge Herrn zitiren. Ich habe viles zu reden, wan mir Gott das glück gibt, das ich nach York komme. Der Raht wird es mir nicht

³⁵ = Sacktuch.

³⁶ = sprechest.

³⁷ = tätest.

³⁸ = hinauf.

³⁹ = prügeln.

⁴⁰ = sprechen.

⁴¹ = Fieber.

⁴² = Zuhörer.

⁴³ = Zeugen.

⁴⁴ = Strasse.

⁴⁵ = bound servant.

⁴⁶ = Peach Bottom.

⁴⁷ = Kleider.

⁴⁸ = hören.

vor übel haben, weil es nicht schön geschriben ist, ich habe es in eil und Noth geschriben.

Den 27ten Febr. 1820.

Wolf Samuel, Servand by⁴⁹ Esa Boyd, Yorkaundi, Pfizbodom daunschip.

[P. S.] Wan es dem Hochlöblichen Rahd gefelig ist, das er uns zitirn wolte so balt als möglich. Den ich selbst habe kein geld nach York zu komen, und mein Herr wolte mich absolut nicht hinaufgehen lassen. Nun, ich beschliesse mein Schreiben und überlasse es Gott und dem Hochlöblichen Rahd in York. Was er tued,⁵⁰ lasse ich mir gefallen. Ohnen Gleiter⁴⁷ und mit solchen Leiten⁵¹ kan ich ohnemöglich⁵² leben 2 Jahre lenger.

An den Vereinigten

Hochlöblichen Court oder Rahd
in York.

6.

Honour^d Justices of the City and Burrow of York.

As I have made befor this Time my Request to your consideration, but received no Answer, so I am forced to try it again. To make you known my sad Condition: I served one year and two Months my Master and have worked and done my Duty, as much, as it was in my power. My Master promised, in Baltimore to give me some Clothes, at that Time, when he had released me from the Ship of a Holland Captain. So when I entreated him for the Clothes, he said: that he would bring me to the house of Correction; which could not make me much affrayed, knowing no crime. He got a Club to beat me, as my old gentelman gat hold on my Neck, I thought he would fog me. I make also my Address to the Justices in York, to give me any Advice what I shall do. I let it to the Right of the Country and their Law. Such abusing of the German will be the cause that many of them, will runn away. I will appeal to the Court, to get my Clothes.

WILLHELM SAMUEL VERREND.¹

⁴⁹ = bei.

⁵⁰ = tut.

⁵¹ = Leuten.

⁵² = unmöglich.

¹ Compare above note 59.

7.

Note of Stephen Boyd concerning the expenditures for his Servant Wolf Samuel.

March the 10th 1819 paid William Samuels passage to Captain H. Bredero	\$76 —
Interpreters fees	" 1 —
Indentures and the recording thereof.....	" 1.50
Expenses bringing him home.....	" 5.45
May the 7th 1820 William Samuel absconded from my service, expenses following him.....	" 4.50
Advertising him in the Recorder.....	" 1.00
Loss of time on search.....	" 6.00
	95.45

8.¹

5 Dollars Reward.

Ranaway from the subscriber, in Peachbottom township, on the 7th instant, a servant man, who, while he was with me, went by the name of William Samuel, but I find in a letter, he calls himself William Samuel Verrend.—He had on when he went away a pair of Nankin pantaloons, green cloth coat, brown surtout coat, a woll hat, and coarse leather shoes; he is about twenty two or twenty-three years of age, five feet seven or eight inches high; stout made, and fair complexion. The above reward will be given to any person for securing the said runaway in any jail so that I get him again, or for delivering him to the subscriber. All persons are warned against harbouring him.

STEPHEN BOYD.

¹ *York Recorder*, new series, vol. xix, May 24, 1820.

EARLY AMERICAN HEBREW DOCUMENTS.

BY ISAAC RIVKIND.

The late George Alexander Kohut, in his discussion of the well-known *responsum* directed from Brazil to the Salonikan rabbi, R. Hayim Shabbethai, asserts that "the first vestige of Jewish literature in America we find in 1636".¹ If this is so, the present year, 1936, marks the 300th anniversary of the beginning of Hebrew in the new world—a fact that deserves to be well noted and to be made more widely known. This Hebrew tercentenary, harking back to South America, where the Jews first trod upon American soil and where there were actual Jews in 1636, is paralleled by another one, originating in Massachusetts in the same year. For it was the year 1636, about eighteen years before the creators and bearers of the holy tongue reached the North American hemisphere, which saw the launching of the enterprise to translate the Psalms in Hebrew. This translation, not completed till 1640, and known as the Bay Psalm book, contains several Hebrew words

¹ *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 3, p. 104. Kohut based his statement on that of J. M. Jost, who expressly writes, "Auch sandten die Brasilianischen Juden schon in Jahre 1636 eine Anfrage in liturgischer Beziehung an R. Hayim Schabbathai in Saloniki", in *Geschichte der Israeliten*, Berlin, 1828, vol. viii, p. 266. The basis of Jost's date 1636 is unknown to me. In the *responsum* itself no date is mentioned. J. D. Eisenstein approximates the *responsum's* date as being between the years 1642 and 1646, *Publications, supra*, No. 12, p. 140. The author of the *responsa* "Torath Hayyim", Rabbi Hayyim Shabbethai flourished 1557-1647. See Solomon Rosanes *דברי ימי ישראל בתנוגתה*, iii, pp. 140-141. The reference in Mendel Silber's "America in Hebrew Literature", Hebrew section, St. Louis, 1920, p. 64, that this rabbi was born in the year 1643 is evidently a typographical error. In the Hebrew section of his book Silber accepts Eisenstein's date, and in the English section, New Orleans, 1928, p. 33, Jost's date.

and the complete Hebrew alphabet. In this manner did Hebrew appear in the very first book published in the English colonies of North America.

The great love of the Puritans for the Old Testament brought with it a love for the language in which the Old Testament was written.² This is evidenced by the twenty-six other books published in the colonies between 1640 and 1735 in which Hebrew letters or words are to be found. They have been listed and described by the eminent American bibliographer, Wilberforce Eames.³ Nearly a century elapsed, however, till the first full and complete Hebrew fount was had in this country—in "A grammar of the Hebrew tongue" by Judah Monis, the first grammar of Hebrew published in America,⁴ in 1735, exactly two hundred years ago.

A further century and a quarter elapsed before the appearance in America of the first book entirely in Hebrew (ex-

² More particulars are to be found in the detailed study of David de Sola Pool, *Publications, supra*, No. 20, pp. 31-83, where the literature and bibliography are given. Concerning the study of Hebrew in America, particularly in later times, see C. Adler, "Hebrew and Cognate Learning in America", in his "Lectures, Selected Papers, Addresses", Philadelphia, 1933, p. 277. See also G. A. Kohut, "Hebraic learning in Puritan New England", in *Menorah journal*, 1916, v. ii, pp. 206-219.

³ "On the Use of Hebrew Types in English America before 1735", in "Studies in Jewish Bibliography, in Memory of A. S. Freidus", pp. 481-502.

⁴ Kohut designates Monis' grammar as "the first Hebrew grammar in America written by a Jew", and Monis himself as "the first Hebrew teacher and grammarian in the United States", in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. xiv, p. 226. (See also his note *ibid.*, vol. xv, pp. 52-54.) It would be more correct to designate Monis' grammar as the first Hebrew grammar published in America because the first Hebrew grammar written by an American is that of Martin del Castillo, apparently a Marrano who hailed from Burgos and lived in Mexico. His grammar, however, was published in France, at Lyons, 1676. For more details, see A. Marx, in "Jewish Theological Seminary of America Register", 1929/30, p. 183.

cluding, of course, prior Bibles and prayer-books). I have in mind "אבני יהושע," a commentary on the "Ethics of the fathers" by Joshua Falk ha-Kohen, New York, 1860, which the author correctly designated "שזה החבור הוא ראשון למדינת אמעריקא למחברת הקודש". The year 1935 marks, therefore, the 75th anniversary of a noteworthy event in the history of Hebrew in the United States and leads to the sad reflection that it took fully two hundred years from the arrival of the Jews in North America before the pangs of Hebraic culture produced a Hebrew book in the full sense of the term.

The cultural direction of Jewish immigration to America assumed a course that differed greatly from that of all other Jewish settlements and centers where they migrated to. Whereas the others became centers for Judaism, these shores for generations were merely a center for Jews. Indeed, it took a very long time before there was crystallized an American Judaism that could exert the least possible influence upon world Jewry. The first Jewish settlers, the Spanish and Portuguese, openly Jewish or former Maranos, who arrived here approximately 160 years after the expulsion from Spain, had already for some time lost hold of the memories of their contributions to the glories of the Hebrew culture during the Spanish period. They had gradually forgotten the Hebrew language or deserted it during their tortuous peregrinations, en route on the highways and by-ways of the old world. Their ancestors had taken along with them, in love and with devotion, the Hebrew book, even the Hebrew type, and with untold sacrifice transplanted them to their new habitations. The grandchildren, on the other hand, cast these very letters into the melting-pot of foreign cultures. Dr. Rosenbach's "An American Jewish Bibliography" in which not a single Hebrew book is listed (again excepting Bible and prayer-books) is the best illustration of the linguistic and cultural assimilation of the grandchildren of the former Spanish exiles who with

their martyrdom had inscribed so many illustrious pages in our history of suffering and had so greatly enriched our ancient Hebrew culture.⁵

When the first *Mahzor* in an English translation appeared in New York, 1761, it was not because of motives of reform, nor from a desire to give up the national tongue; as did the outspoken reformers a bit later, who thereby became the deniers of Hebrew. Amongst the Spanish Jews there had existed somewhat of a "tradition of translated prayers". Already in the 16th century, if not earlier, there had blossomed forth translations in Ladino, which immediately became a language that was written in two scripts, in Hebrew and in Latin characters.⁶ The latter of course was intended for those who did not know, or who had forgotten, the Hebrew alphabet; or, for the Maranos who, because of the eager eyes of the Inquisition, concealed their Hebraic yearnings in a foreign script. The original language of prayers once changed, even though into one's own language "Judismo", as the Spanish Jews call their Yiddish, it became much easier to alter it into the language of whatever other country one happened to settle in. This is made clear by Isaac Pinto in his translation of the prayers. He ascribes his translation to the much regretted but ever increasing ignorance of Hebrew. He states in the preface:

that [Hebrew language] being imperfectly understood by many, by some, not at all; it has been necessary to translate our Prayers in the language of the Country.⁷

⁵ See Rivkind, *כבוש הספריות - לעם* New York, 1930.

⁶ The Spaniolish "Judaica" literature is listed by M. Kayserling, "Biblioteca Espanola—Portuguesa—Judaica". See the additions to Kayserling by J. S. Da Silva Rosa, "Die spanischen und portugiesischen gedruckten Judaica in der Bibliothek . . . Ets Haim in Amsterdam", 1933. Several photographed title-pages of older prayer-books are to be found in Sigmund Seeligmann, "Bibliographie en Historie", Amsterdam, 1927.

⁷ "Prayers for Shabbath, Rosh-Hashanah, and Kippur . . .", translated by Isaac Pinto, New York, 5526 (1766), p. iii. The title-page and

A further illustration of the ignorance of Hebrew in those days can be seen from the following. In the year 1771 a Hebrew letter was received from Hebron. The Jew Isaac Hart had to call upon the Christian Orientalist Ezra Stiles for a translation of it.

[Hart] sent me to read a letter in Hebrew he lately received from Macpela in the Holy Land.⁸

Yet Hebrew was not entirely unknown. It was not the dominating language in the religious life of the Jews, as was the case among the Jewries of Europe, but its use, particularly in connection with certain religious functions, was not entirely abandoned, even though the language of prayers in many cases had already been changed from the sacred Hebrew into the vernacular English. Evidence of this can

complete preface is reprinted by Kohut in *Publications, supra*, No. 3, p. 117. See Israel Abrahams, "Isaac Pinto's Prayer-book" in his "By-paths in Hebraic book-land", Philadelphia, 1920, pp. 171-177, who points out that the *Mahamad* in England refused permission for a translation of the prayers into English but nowise objected to a translation into Ladino. To this curious reasoning we owe the fact that the first English translation of the Mahzor was printed in the colonies and not in England.

⁸ G. A. Kohut, in his "Ezra Stiles and the Jews," New York, 1902, pp. 64-65, regrets the omission of the Hebrew original or a translation by the editor of Stiles' "Diary." He probably did not know in 1902 that copies of the original letters are among the Gratz papers and in other collections which the Society possesses. An extract from the same letter, sent to a philanthropic Jew in Italy, was published by me in *ירושלם לזכר ר' אברהם משה לונץ* Jerusalem, 1928, p. 126. A similar instance occurred as late as 1848, in the case of wine which was brought for sale here from Palestine. In order to translate the *Hechshar* (rabbinical license or permit) it was found necessary to turn to William L. Roy, gentile professor of Oriental languages in New York. More about this wine business may be found in my *יינות א"י למכירה בניו-יורק בשנת 1848* in "Mizrachi jubilee publication," New York, 1936, pp. 123-127, where the *Hechshar*, taken from scrapbook no. 1 of the Lyons Collection, is photostatically reproduced.

be seen in *Ketubot*, or marriage contracts,⁹ divorce-bills,¹⁰ tombstone inscriptions,¹¹ etc. Hebrew was also resorted to in transactions of a semi-religious nature. There exists, for ex-

⁹ The Society possesses the following Hebrew *Ketubot* of the last quarter of the eighteenth, and beginning of the nineteenth, century:

- a) Haym Salomon and Rachel Franks, New York, 1777.
- b) Solomon Levy and Rebecca Hendricks, New York, 1789.
- c) Jacob deLeon and Hannah Hendricks, New York, 1790.
- d) Solomon Moses and Rachel Gratz, Philadelphia, 1806.
- e) Aaron L. Gomez and Esther Hendricks, New York, 1821.

It is worthy of note that the signatures to the above by the bridegroom or officiating minister are, in some of them, in English, instead of Hebrew.

¹⁰ Unfortunately, no old American Jewish bill of divorce (*Get*) has been preserved, for obvious reasons. Yet, whosoever possesses any of these would perform a real historical service by donating it to our Society. The question of *Gittin* has always been one of the most intricate and troublesome in Jewish life here. In 1861 there arrived in New York Rabbi Joseph Moses Aaronson from Poland (see J. D. Eisenstein, *Ozar Yisroel*, vol. i, p. 167), at the invitation of the Beth Midrash Adath Jesurun in Allen Street, New York. His mission was to introduce order and dignity in the matter of American *Gittin* (and not as J. D. Eisenstein, in a later work of his—*אוצר זכרונות*, New York, 1929, p. 24, states that first "he went about the large cities sermonizing and preaching" and later assumed the office of Rabbi in New York). He had consulted the leading rabbis of his native Poland, and it was at their behest that he undertook what was then for him a difficult and far journey

„ואז התיעצתי עם חבירי ואלופי מורי הוראה בישראל גדולי מדינתנו שבארץ רוסיא ורובם יעצו אותי שאקבל עלי, אחר שרבים מאנשי המדינות אשר הולכים לאמעריקא, וכמה מוכרחים לשלוח גט לנשותיהם ולכן יוכלו לסמוך כי גט כשר הוא ונסדר עפ"י הד"ת ולזאת קבלתי עלי הטלטול הקשה"

Of the fifteen American *responsa* which were posthumously published a third is devoted to matters of divorce. Seven concern ritual slaughter, and three general synagogue, subjects. He sharply condemns the disgraceful acts of the former "arrangers" of *Gittin* in New York . . . אם אנחנו מחשים מלגלות הנבלות של המסדרי גיטין בנעיארק מה נאמר ליום מחר. Of particular importance is his *responsum* in which

ample, a receipt signed by the Philadelphia Jewish leaders for a Torah scroll which was borrowed from the Shearith Israel congregation of New York for the Jewish community of Reading, Pa. The text of this, as well as two of the six signatures, is in Hebrew, and was printed, as were similar

he gives his reasons for the changes in the New York formulae introduced by him.

„בענין נוסח הגט שאני מסדר משונה בכמה דברים בעניני שם העיר והנהר לא ככל המין [המון] המסדרי גיטין בפה נויארק”

He cites the texts of former *Gittin*, particularly the one formulated in 1851 by R. Zevi Sofer, who came here from Grajevo, Poland, and who was one of the earliest *Get* specialists in this country, at a time when the number of Jews here was still quite small. J. D. Eisenstein, in *Publications*, *supra*, no. 12, p. 145, confuses Zevi Sofer with “Moses Hirsch Sofer Holzman, author of *Emek Rephaim*”, New York, 1865. The title-page of “*Emek Rephaim*” names its author as Elijah, son of Moses [not Hirsch] Sofer, called Holzman. Moreover, R. Elijah hailed from Courland, and not Poland.

J. M. Aaronson, for purposes of Jewish divorce-bills, attempted to establish in Hebrew the correct geographical positions of the various parts of metropolitan New York in relation to their position on the sea-coast or other bodies of water, and the correct Hebrew orthography of the word “New York”.

... וע"י שם הנהר נקרא העיר בלשונם נואיארק ובלשון העברים נאייא יארק... ולזאת היה יותר טוב לסמן העיר ע"י הנהרות ולא להזכיר כיף ימא אשר הוא רחוק מהעיר מרחק רב... ואחד מהם הוסיף בעתים הללו יוד בנאייארק וזה אינו לא אצל יהודים ולא אצל א"י [=אינו יהודים]... מטעי משה, ירושלם, תרל"ח, חלק שו"ת, עמ' כה, לג"לר.

Neither the *מטעי משה*, the first volume of American *responsa*, nor the *פרדס הבינה* which are to be found in Aaronson's *responsa* are listed in Boaz Cohen's *קונטרס התשובות*. The Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary owns two autographed copies of his first book *פרדס החכמה*, Sedilkow, 1836.

⁴¹ The Library of the Society owns a volume containing copies of Hebrew tombstone inscriptions, which, again unfortunately, have not yet been printed in the original. Translations of some of them have appeared in various numbers of the *Publications*.

Hebrew documents, only in an English translation.¹² Of Hebrew secular documents mention should be specially made of Benjamin Sheftall's diary, beginning with the year 1733—a valuable historical chronicle. Of this there have been published, again only in an English translation, several interesting fragments.¹³ In 1909 the original diary was still in possession of a member of the Sheftall family. One fervently hopes that it has not been lost in the meantime. Were this so, it would be an irremediable loss.

It is naturally impossible to evaluate and summarize properly the extent of Hebrew knowledge in this country and the position of Hebrew during the beginnings of the Jewish settlement in North America as long as the original documents and MSS. that are extant have not been published. Indeed, such sources are not numerous, and the few that are known should

¹² *Publications, supra*, no. 27, pp. 20-21.

¹³ See Mordecai Sheftall in *Occident*, 1843, vol. i, pp. 380-384, 486-489; and G. A. Kohut in *Publications, supra*, no. 3, pp. 114-115. See also E. H. Abrahams, *ibid.*, no. 17, pp. 168-171, who speaks of the existence of a "private diary originally written in Hebrew by Levi Sheftall . . . a purely private one, however; it relates to family news and gossip and contains nothing of permanent historical value". That Levi Sheftall probably did not command Hebrew sufficiently well to keep a diary in that language is evidenced by the fact that his father Benjamin found it necessary to translate for him the Hebrew record of the Savannah settlement. Moreover, the *Occident* description of the Levi Sheftall diary says nothing about it being in Hebrew, whereas the Hebrew origin of Benjamin's historical writings is very carefully noted. Abrahams is also, we believe, in error in his evaluation of Levi Sheftall's diary as containing nothing of historical importance. The portions translated in the *Occident, supra*, pp. 486-489, which Abrahams in his paper does not mention, prove beyond doubt that this diary is not "a purely private one" and that parts of it, at least, are of very great importance. Levi's son, Mordecai, in *Occident, supra*, p. 381, states that it recorded "every important event connected with the conditions of the Israelites; arrivals, departures, marriages, births, deaths, &c., to the first of July in the year 1808".

have been made available in the original Hebrew. This act of omission, I regret to say, rests largely upon the American Jewish Historical Society, which has, in this respect, acted at variance with the accepted practice of learned publications.

In the pages that follow I have endeavored to contribute to our knowledge of the position of Hebrew in the early days by the publication and elucidation of a few American Hebrew documents.

I.

A NEW YORK TOSEFETH (SUPPLEMENTARY) KETUBAH OF THE YEAR 1718.

Many valuable historical documents have at times been discovered in old book-bindings. The book-binder would either place several documents together to form paddings into the covers of the volume that was being bound, or would merely paste them over the inside cover, front or back. Thus, it was my good fortune to find a *Tosefeth-Ketubah* in the binding of a volume of "המגיד," (i.e., Prophets and Hagiographa with Yiddish translation), by Jacob ben Isaac of Janowa, Prague, 1692, in the possession of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. The document was pasted on the inside of the front cover. As far as one can ascertain, this is perhaps the first extant American document in Hebrew, and the first written Hebrew record of a New York family.

On a second leaf of the same kind of paper and of similar size, in the same volume, there was written on the top "Rabby Benjamin Elias his Book, 1720." This is the same Riby Benjamin, Benjn, Benja Elias, often mentioned in the minute-books of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation Shearith-Israel in New York. He was the first recorded *Shohet* and *Bodek* who exercised these offices even prior to 1728.¹ The fact

¹ See *Publications, supra*, no. 21, index; Lee M. Friedman, "Early American Jews", Cambridge, Mass., 1934, p. 69.

of his possessing the "המגיד," indicates that he was probably an Ashkenazi Jew. If so, he understood Yiddish, and the volume with its old Yiddish translation was of use to him. It should be borne in mind at this point that the Shearith Israel Synagogue of New York City, in course of time ceased to be an exclusively Sephardic Congregation. During this period it already included many *Ashkenazim* among its members.

Unfortunately, the first line or two at the beginning, and the last few lines at the bottom of this document have been cut off. But from the aforementioned date, 1720, which Rabbi Benjamin Elias set down on his book, one can definitely ascertain beyond any doubt that the number 78 in the text (ושבעים ושמונה לבריאת עולם שאנו מנין כאן במדינת ניו-ארק) is part of the complete Hebrew date, 5478 *anno mundi*, (i.e. 1718 C. E.) a date which coincides with the period in which the persons mentioned in the document lived. On the very same leaf, which bears Elias' name, is found the preamble: המגיד מראשית אחרית. הוא יתן שם ושארית. לאלה דברי התנאים והברית. שנדברו בינינו. בין שני הצדדים. דהיינוהכתוב. written by the same hand that wrote the *Tosefeth-Ketubah*.

At this point the name of the bridegroom has been cut out. The same excision also mutilated the second page of the text of the *Tosefeth-Ketubah* itself. As if to compensate for this deletion, however, there are cited several times in the text itself the names of the parties interested—the husband שמואל המכונה זנוויל ב"ר יצחק הלוי (Samuel Zanwill bar Isaac ha-Levi), and the wife רעכיל (רחל) בת כמ"ר אשר ז"ל (Rechel, daughter of Asher). Both names are identical with the names found in a will, written by this New York merchant Samuel Levy, April 28, 1719.² In this testament, Levy be-

² *Publications, supra*, no. 23, p. 150.

My friend, E. D. Coleman, called my attention to a will of one Joseph Brown, written in New York, August, 1704, in the possession of the American Jewish Historical Society, in which one of the witnesses signs his name, Samuel Levy, in English and in Hebrew.

queaths his entire estate to his wife Rachell and their daughter Abigail,³ "when she is of age". His mother-in-law, Rebecca Asher, to whom he left "ten pounds yearly during her life" is also mentioned. Rebecca Asher's name also occurs twice in the aforementioned minutes of Shearith Israel. To his brother's daughter, Miriam Hart, the wife of Moses Hart of New York, he left ten pounds "to buy a piece of plate in remembrance of me." To his brother Joseph and to Joseph's son, Isaac in London, he bequeathed two hundred pounds, to be distributed among his poor relatives in Germany "as they may think fit".

The will was executed by Samuel Levy, "being sick and weak"; and, five days later, on May 5, 1719—the 27th of Iyar,⁴ 5479 a. m.—in his 43rd year, he passed away. His tombstone bears a beautiful Hebrew inscription with the acrostic of his name, Samuel Zanwill Levi. He is described as "Parnes" and as one who excelled as a philanthropist and as a man of good deeds:

Earthly riches, fruits of his diligence, he turned
to noble use; in doing good in days of trouble.

This signature may possibly be in the handwriting of our Samuel Levy. The will, in an abridged form and taken from another source, was first published by Friedman in *Publications, supra*, and later in his aforementioned book, p. 64. He is also probably the same Samuel Levy who, together with sixty-six other prominent merchants of New York, on February 19, 1705, signed a petition in regard to a fair standard of values for foreign coins. *Publications, supra*, no. 2, p. 86.

³ See note 6.

⁴ In *Publications, supra*, no. 18, p. 96, it is given as "this day Tuesday, 27th of *Elul*, that is the month of Ziv." It should read "Iyar" which is the Biblical Ziv (I Kings 6: 1, 37). This agrees with the general date given, "who departed this life May 5th A. 1719, aged 42 years." Moreover, the translation, "in the year five four seven nine" for *ה'תע"ט* is incorrect and not clear. According to the copy of the inscription on the tombstone which I saw in the library of the Society, the date is *תע"ט*, [(five thousand) four hundred and seventy-nine,] without the *ה'א*.

Unfortunately, the inscription was not published in the Hebrew original but appeared in an English translation, made from an imperfect copy of the Hebrew original.⁴

Only the death of Samuel Levy in 1719 explains how a *Tosefeth-Ketubah*, written in 1718, was used in the binding of a book as early as 1720.⁵ Since the will declared his wife and his daughter to be the chief inheritors of his estate, the *Tosefeth-Ketubah* was legally superseded and discarded as of no use.

That the *Tosefeth-Ketubah* was not written at the time of the marriage can be adjudged from the text itself. In it there is stressed and repeated three times: הכתובה שיש לה כבר ממני (i.e., the *Ketubah* which she has already received from me). Samuel Levy was in his 42nd year; and his wife Rachel in her 28th year when the document was written, if we accept the view, and according to all appearances it should be so accepted, that Rachel, daughter of Asher, who died on October 22, 1732, close to the age of 42 years, is one and the same person.⁶ The

⁴ It is worth noting that, in the process of binding the volume, fragments of another MS. were added to the document. The latter proved to be insufficient to extend over the entire cover. The additional fragments consisted of the first folio of the tractate *מכות* beginning with *אלא מלקות ארבעים כיצר* up to *כיצר הערים נעשים מעידים* and from *מלא תענה ליה ותיפק* up to *מבר* כבניזק.

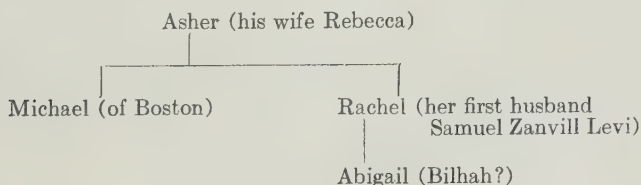
One can easily discern here the case of an immigrant who, because of a scarcity of books, had to transcribe the text of a *Gemara* while still in Europe and bring it along with him to the new world; or did so when he was already here. Later, after a printed copy was procured, the MS. became superfluous and was utilized as pasting-paper by a bookbinder.

⁵ *Publications, supra*, no. 18, p. 121. A certain "Rachel Levy" is here mentioned, who died on August 21, 1749. Friedman, *supra*, p. 67, considers her to be the wife of Samuel Levy. It is more than certain that Friedman here confused two "Rachels" and indexed them both together under one name. He did this also with two "Samuel Levys"—i.e., ours of the document, who died May 5th 1719, and the other, a record of whom for the year 1758 is found on p. 78 of his

date of their marriage is not known, and it is difficult to fix the date. Yet it may be assumed that even in those immigrant days, marriages took place at an early period in life. Therefore, it is almost certain that the *Tosefeth-Ketubah* was written much later, quite a number of years after the wed-

book. That the first Rachel, who died in 1732, rather than the second Rachel, is to be identified as Samuel Levy's wife may be assumed from a court record of October 31, 1732, which Friedman himself cites (*ibid.*, p. 155, note 27). 1732 is the date given by Friedman; but in the Mayor's Court Minutes from which Friedman gathered his data, it reads "1731?". Friedman's reading is correct since Rachel Levy died in 1732. In this court record, Bilhah Levy, the 14-year-old daughter of the New York merchant Samuel Levy and his wife Rachel, both deceased, petitions the court to appoint her uncle, Michael Asher of Boston as her guardian. Since her mother's death on October 22, 1732, orphaned the daughter, (a minor), recourse was had, immediately after the seven days of mourning, to the court to settle the question of her guardianship. One point, however, remains to be cleared up. According to Levy's will, his daughter is called Abigail; in the Mayor's court minutes she is called Bilhah. Has an error crept in? Or did she have two names? The names Bilhah and Abigail sometimes do occur together, e. g., the case of a daughter of Moses Levy. Furthermore, in the excerpt which Friedman cites, there is placed in parentheses, alongside the name of Levy's wife, Rachel, "(late Rachel Lyers Cohn)". (In Friedman, *Lyers* is a misprint; in the original source, it reads *Myers*.) According to the court record, it appears that Samuel Levy's widow remarried. Perhaps it was for this reason that upon her tombstone there was inscribed only her father's name, and no mention made of either of her husbands. Since the daughter was left with a stepfather, we may therein possibly find a reason for the haste in arranging for the appointment of a guardian for her.

According to the sources, therefore, one can trace the genealogy of the Asher family as follows:



ding. It may also be supposed that Levy's weakness and state of ill-health compelled him to write the *Tosefeth-Ketubah*. In it he grants his wife two hundred pounds additional to the principal of the *Ketubah*—one hundred pounds—totaling three hundred pounds, beside the jewelry and clothing which are not included in this sum. Moreover, he simultaneously makes his wife the sole administratrix of his estate: **הרשיתה והשליטה ומיניתה מורשי' ואפוטרופסית על כל נכסי הן כסף הן שוה כסף טמון וגלוי מקרקע וממלטלי.** Ordinarily this seldom occurs in *Tosefeth-Ketubot*, but in our case it agrees exactly and completely with the spirit of the will that Samuel Levy made and arranged shortly thereafter.

In general, the *Tosefeth-Ketubah* is written in a beautiful hand, as can be seen from the photostat. It is to be regretted that the name of the scribe is unknown, for this was written by an adept, by one who was learned in the law (**למדן**), and well-acquainted with the complicated formulae of legal Jewish documents (*Shetaroth*). That there should be found in America a man with such a degree of proficiency in Jewish learning, is an unusual phenomenon for those early days.

Samuel Levy's place of origin, doubtless, was Germany. The Ashkenazic formula of the document indicates this fact. One senses in it the German *Minhag*; and our text resembles similar texts of *Ketubot* and *Tosefeth-Ketubot* that have already been published. Asher Gulak has published one written in the year (5)551 anno mundi (i.e., 1791 C. E.⁷), which is similar to ours. Ours, however, is 73 years older, and more detailed. It contains certain points (e.g., the wife as guardian, etc.) which the 1791 formula does not have. Generally speaking, our document is not a copy of a definite formula, but rather made up of a combination of formulae, gleaned from several **שטרות**, as well as from **שטרי אפוטרופסות** and **מודעא**; thus rendering it distinct and almost unique. Since its general style and its specific expressions are similar to those extant,

⁷ אוצר השטרות, ירושלים, תרפ"ו p. 45 שטר 42.

and to the various *Shetaroth* already published, I consider it, therefore, unnecessary to repeat what is already known, and desire only to elucidate upon the most important points in my notes.

בק"ג א"ס=בקנין גמור אנג סודר.	2
ב"ד=בית דין	6
מאה לטרין ראה כתובות נ"ד ע"ב בתוספות ד"ה אף על פי	8
„דעכשיו נהגו שכותב חתן לכלה מאה לטרין" והשוה גם גולאק שטרי נשואין ל"ג. ל"ח. ל"ט. מ"א.	
[בשט]ר כתובתא דא.	10
ולאיות כי אמרו חז"ל: עיין כתובות נ"ד ע"ב מהו דתימא קיצותא עבדו רבנן שלא לבייש את מי שאין לו; גולאק שטר מ"ב.	12
ש"מ=שכיב מרע. ק"ס=קנין סודר.	14
הרשיתה והשליטה, ראה ספר השטרות לר' יהודה ב"ר ברזילי הברצלוני שטר ע"ב; גולאק שטר קנ"ח.	14
וארבעין צ"ל וערבאין.	19
23-22 בין בר"י בין בר"א=בין בדיני ישראל בין בדיני אומות.	
עח"מ=עדים חתומים מטה.	24
גמור [בכלל] לשנא [ראמרי] רבנן.	26
או באי כ[חה ברלא נקרע] קרע ב"ד. השוה גולאק עמ' 210.	27
נאמנים לומר.	28

II.

A *Shechitah* CERTIFICATE ISSUED TO SOLOMON ETING IN LANCASTER, 1782.

Sixty-four years separate this document from the preceding one. One would expect, at the end of so long a period, a certain progress in the Jewish mode of life—more *Torah* and more Jewish learning. Had this been the case, the present document, written as it is in an unusually corrupted style and the text of which is an illustration of colossal ignorance, would not be possible. Linguistically and in content this authorization is of little value. Nevertheless, it is more than a curiosity, and historically of extreme importance, as regards both the place where it was penned, Lancaster, Pa., and the personages mentioned therein.

The Jewish settlement in Lancaster dates back to about 1747, although some individual Jews had been there before.

The community, at this early period, because of the paucity of its members, could not afford a synagogue of its own. The few, therefore, who were there met for prayers in a private house.¹ Other public religious functions, which are usually performed by the *Shohet* or *Hazan*, had for the same reason to be discharged voluntarily by the members themselves. Moreover, apart from the expenses involved, one must bear in mind that Jewish religious functionaries, usually recent arrivals from abroad, were rather scarce on this continent at that time. In view of this, one need not be surprised to find so eminent and busy a merchant as Barnard Gratz perform *Shechitah* and at the same time train a pupil in the person of Solomon Etting, eighteen years of age then, which is the legal minimum age for the performance of this rite,² to whom he issued the present authorization.

The career of Solomon Etting is known to students of American Jewish history. It is fully recorded in our *Publications*. I allow myself to repeat the following facts. He was born in 1764 at York, Pa., and married Rachel (Relah), the daughter of Joseph Simon,³ a prominent citizen and merchant of Lancaster, with whom his father Elijah had had commercial connections.⁴ After his marriage he settled in Lancaster and became a partner with his father-in-law in a firm which assumed the name of Simon and Etting. Later he lived in Philadelphia where he was an eminent member of Mikve Israel synagogue. Afterwards he returned to Baltimore where, in 1826, he was elected to public office, the first Jew to receive such an honor in Maryland. In 1828 he served as one of the

¹ Henry Necarsulmer, *Publications*, *supra*, no. 9, pp. 29, 36-37.

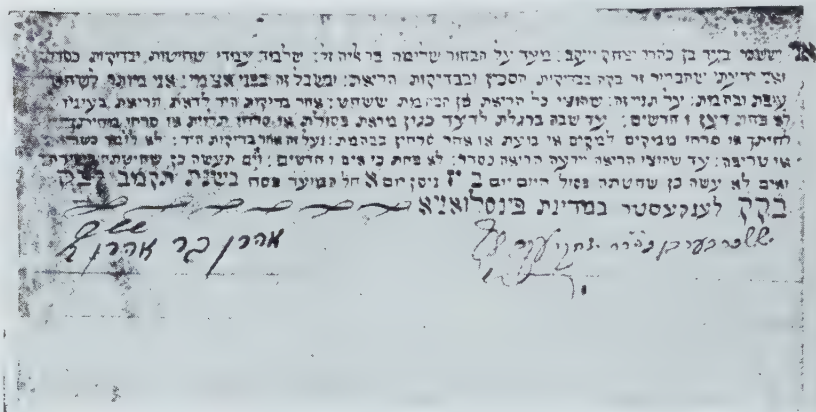
² "וַיֵּשׁ מַחְמִירִין שְׁלֹא לִיתֵן קִבְלָה לְמִי שֶׁהוּא פָחוֹת מִבֶּן י"ח שָׁנָה" וְכו' יוֹרֵה דַּעַה הַלְכוֹת שְׁחִיטָה א, ה' (הַגְהֵת רמ"א).

³ After her death Etting married Rachel, daughter of Barnard Gratz. See W. V. Byars, "B. and M. Gratz, merchants," p. 99, and the genealogical chart of the Mears family, in *Publications*, *supra*, no. 33, facing p. 210.

⁴ *Publications*, *supra*, no. 1, p. 67.

directors of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company. Throughout his life he was prominent in the Masonic order, and when at Lancaster he founded the local lodge, no. 43. He died in Baltimore in 1847.⁵

According to the text of the authorization Etting was permitted to practice *Shechitah* for his own use only "ובשב[י]ל זה בפני [ע] [א]צמי: אני מותר לשחט עוף [ו] ת ובהמ[ו]ת: ת:" and that he should have deemed it important to undergo the training for the limited use of himself lends a not insignificant



Jewish fact in the varied career of this noteworthy man. His is the distinction of being the first native North American Jew to perform the function of *Shohet* and the first American whose ordination took place on the soil of United States by another American.

That the first signatory to the authorization

יששכר בער בן כהר"ר יצחק יעקב ז"ל "שלמד עמדי שחיטות יהודיות" with whom Etting studied his profession is Barnard Gratz, and none other, is conclusively shown in the many Judeo-German letters constituting

⁵ *Publications, supra*, no. 9, pp. 31, 33; see also Oppenheim, in *ibid.*, no. 19, pp. 44, 48, 58.

the Gratz letters at the American Jewish Historical Society, where he is either mentioned or addressed as בער and as יששכר בער by his brother. Barnard Gratz as well as the second signatory אהרן בר אהרן Aaron Levy had commercial connections with Joseph Simon, who is mentioned previously. All were residents of Lancaster at one time and their families were closely connected by ties of life-long friendship.⁶

The present authorization is in possession of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. I am grateful to Prof. Alexander Marx who called it to my attention and gave it to me for publication.

III.

A LETTER OF THE YEAR 1770.

On August 11, 1767, a great fire broke out in Lissa, Poland. The greater part of the city was destroyed, including the north side where the Jewish section was located. The fire also took several human victims in whose memory a special memorial prayer was composed. After the fire the Jewish community dispersed to neighboring cities. Some left the city permanently.¹ The braver were driven by poverty and homelessness far across the boundaries of their fatherland and went in search of their fortune as far as the new world. Because of this, and not because of the partitions of Poland, as the majority of the historians assume, Haym Salomon, who later became so famous, was forced to emigrate. He too was a Lissa Jew who had been wandering through Europe in search of a home till he arrived in America. The year of his arrival has not been ascertained as yet. Another probable victim of this fire was the Polish Jew Abraham ha-Levi of Lissa, the subject of the present document.

⁶ Rosenbach in *Publications*, *supra*, no. 2, p. 161.

¹ Louis Lewin, *Geschichte der Juden in Lissa*, Pinne, 1904, pp. 65-66.

A record which contains information concerning him in this country is in existence. We find it in the diaries of Ezra Stiles, then a divine in Newport, later president of Yale College. From an entry in his diary we learn that a Polish Jew of Lissa paid him a visit on March 15th and 16, 1770. The description and characteristics of the visitor given by Stiles are so interesting that it is not amiss to cite the several lines fully.

The Jew visited me again to-day. His name is Abraham Levi *act.* 44.² I shewed him the Computa made by a German Rabbi placing the Appear^a.. of the Messiah 1783. He smiled, & said they looked for him every day.. I accidentally sneezed & he prayed instantly. At sunset he excused himself & rose up & went to my East Study window & prayed by himself. & then returned & sat down again to Discourse. He seems to be a man of Sobriety, spake of the Deity with uplifted hands & Eyes & with the most profound Reverence.³

It was this visit to Newport, where ha-Levi was forced to remain till after Passover, 1770, that caused the present letter of thanks to be written to Aaron Lopez who was one of the most prominent representatives of the local Jewish community at the time. There were eighteen families of fifty-six Jewish persons in Newport during the sixties of that century.

It is not clear when ha-Levi arrived in America and what was the purpose of his coming here. That he came after and because of the fire can be learned from the abbreviation **תוכבאם** which follows the name Lissa. It is customary to employ this abbreviation in reference to destroyed cities. It is

²In this place George Alexander Kohut, in his "Ezra Stiles and the Jews", *supra*, p. 27, entered the following: "(here unfortunately, the editor has abridged what seems to be a description of the visitor's personality)." Dr. Leon Nemoy of Yale University library was so kind as to check up the omitted phrases in the original MS. He wrote on July 10, 1935, as follows: "The passage omitted by Dexter in Stiles' diary, under March 16, 1770, contains no personal data on Levy, but details a conversation between Levy and Stiles on the Messiah, etc. I have looked up the original MS. for it."

³Kohut, *ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

hardly believable that he journeyed so far away, as so many others did, in order to collect alms. Very likely he intended to settle in this country. The reasons for his failure to adjust himself in America are as difficult to determine as are the motives which caused him to wander further away from here to Jamaica, which intention he states in this letter. Whether he actually did go to Jamaica and how he fared there, the writer has not been able to establish. All traces of him are lost after the spring of 1770.

Levi expresses in this letter, written a few days before his departure for Jamaica, sentiments of deep gratitude to Lopez for the favors received in Newport. He mentions a letter of recommendation which he received from Lopez and Rivera which helped him later and made it possible for him to obtain some favors in New York. In addition to Aaron Levy and his family he also mentions a brother of Lopez and his family. It is naturally hard to determine whether this refers to Moses or David. Besides the first *Hazan* of Newport, Isaac Touro, mention is made of the very prominent Jewish inhabitant of Newport, Jacob Rodriguez Rivera, the father-in-law of Lopez. Both these prominent families were related through marriage and kinship.⁴ They are described quite fully in the *Publications*. His letter, however, adds a few details as to their charitable activities and reputation.

The end of the letter contains greetings to Lopez from a certain Reb Haim Levy and his family, inhabitants of New York. The lines containing the greetings were later stricken out by the writer. The Haim Levy here referred to is probably the well-known Hayman Levy of Philadelphia and New York, who died in 5549.⁵ The two names, therefore, refer probably to the same person.

⁴ In the words of a member of the family, Sarah Lopez, "the two families of Lopez and Rivera are nearly connected both by blood and marriage". See Max J. Kohler, in *Publications*, *supra*, no. 2, p. 105. See also, Kohut, *ibid.*, pp. 138-143.

⁵ *Publications*, *supra*, no. 18, p. 99.

The letter is written in Hebrew. In several places, however, some Judeo-German phrases and sentences are interposed, a style of letter-writing which was usual and popular at that time. The handwriting is quite nice and legible. Several letters, however, are calligraphed, and some of them are so ornate that it is hard to determine their real orthography.

The letter is the property of the American Jewish Historical Society and is part of a volume of important historical documents which was presented to the Society by its president, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach. Mr. E. D. Coleman, the Librarian of the Society, was so kind as to bring this letter to my attention.

ב"ה ה'ו' ד' ר"ח אייר דהאי שתא ב'חודש י'ק לפק.
 מרחוק אקרא לשלום לאהו' א"נ ה"ה האלוף והמרומם היקר
 והישר כש"ת בתוך חכמים יתהלל כהרר אהרון לאפים נר יאיר
 וזורח כאור הבהיר, ולזוגתו הנבירה המהוללה והמעטרה א"ח
 הצנועה והחסודה תי' ולבניו ולבנותיו שי' ותי' בכללן ובפרטון. 5
 אודיע שבאתי ת"ל בשלום לכאן גם זיין בריב האבי ריכטייג
 אפ גיגעבין איך האבי דא דורך מקבל טובה גיוועזין וה' יתן
 שכרו כפל לעולם הבא גם אני אומר לאדוני הקצין נר"י יישר כח,
 בעבור הטובות מה שקבלתי ממנו ותו לא מידי רק חיים ושלו' 10
 מאה וממני ירידו המוכיר אותו לטובה בכל עת ורגע כד אברהם
 הלוי מליסא תובבאם.
 גם באתי להודיע דש איך פור טרעק ביו' א' אי"ה הבעל לטובה
 לשמיקע וה' יצליח את דרכי.
 אחיו ירדי נר"י מיינט וועגן פצגריסע עם אשתו ובניו גב"ה,
 ולכל הדורשים בשלומי הטוב אני אומר שלום: 15
 ד"ש להחזן הר"ר טארי נר"י איך שרייבי צורנאך ריכט דש
 האב מקבל טובה גיוועזין עבור האגרת מה שקבלתי מהגבירי'
 הקצין הר"ר יעקב רעוורי נר"י ומחתנו הקצין המרומ' הר"ר
 אהרון לאפים נר"י ה' יתן שכר' כפל לעולם הבא ולראות שמחות 20
 בבנים ובבני בנים אמן.
 ד"ש לכל בני ביתו ולכל בני משפחתו הרמה
 אדיע לעבט וואל עמש"א
 ובשולי היריעה באתי לדורש בשלומי הטוב עבור האיש הר"ר
 חיים הלוי עם אשתו ובניו להקצין הרר אהרון לאפים נר"י.

The starred letters of these two Hebrew words amount to 1
 (1770). Literally the words mean the month of תק"ל

જોઈ જાણે કે આ મુદ્દા આ બાબતે

[illegible]

אשר יתקבלה פנימה / ויהי כעין חדר קטן / אשר יוכלו בו לישון /

[illegible]

22. In der Mitte des Jahres 1900

John F. Kennedy

[illegible]

green (when the fields become green) or the green month. It is also a play on the name of New York, בחודש = New; ירק = York.

א"ח = אשת חבר.	4
ת"ל = תודה לאל.	6
מאה = מאדון השלום.	10
כד = כה דברי. 11 תובבאס = תבנה ותכונן במהרה בימינו אמן סלה.	10
פור טרעק — To move on, to march away. Cf. also the German <i>trecken</i> , the Dutch <i>trekken</i> , the English <i>trek</i> . In Yiddish, a highway is called טראקט. See A. Harkavy's "Yiddish-English Hebrew Dictionary."	12
To Jamaica = לשמיקע	13
פצגריסע perhaps פרגריסע.	14
ד"ש = דרישת שלום. טארי = Touro = צורנאך ריכט = zur Nachricht	16
דש = דאס.	16
Rivera (Revere) = רעוורי	18
עמי"א = עד מאה שנים אמן.	22

SOME EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AMERICAN JEWISH LETTERS.

BY JOSHUA N. NEUMANN, PH. D.

In the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 25, pp. 128-131, there appeared a copy and translation of a Yiddish letter dated Philadelphia, July 28, 1776, written by Jonas Phillips of that city to a business correspondent in Amsterdam, Holland, and possessing considerable historic interest. Thanks to the assistance of E. D. Coleman, librarian of the American Jewish Historical Society, I am able to present herewith a series of eleven additional Yiddish letters written by American Jews in the third quarter of the eighteenth century and antedating the Phillips document by five to seventeen years.

With the exception of the first letter, the originals are all in the possession of the American Jewish Historical Society, forming part of the Gratz Papers presented to the Society many years ago by Judge Mayer Sulzberger. The first letter, the earliest in point of date, comes from the Etting Collection in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. None of these documents have thus far been reproduced either in whole or in part, although it appears that transcripts and free translations of the American Jewish Historical Society's letters were at one time made for the Society by Prof. Alexander Marx and Albert M. Friedenberg.

Like the Phillips letters of 1776, these documents possess both historic and linguistic interest. They were all addressed either to Michael or Barnard Gratz, the well-known Philadelphia "merchant venturers," to whom that city owes so much of its Jewish history. Most of the letters (Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10) were written by one of the business correspondents of

the Gratz brothers in Reading, Pennsylvania. Two letters, the first and the last, are somewhat more intimate family documents. From the whole of this correspondence one gets a picture of the ordinary everyday life of the pioneer Jewish settler in what was in those days a frontier town of Pennsylvania. In a literary sense the letters are an interesting example of Yiddish private correspondence of the eighteenth century.

A word ought to be said about the writers of these letters. Letter 1 was written by Barnard Gratz of Philadelphia, some time late in 1758 to his younger brother Michael, in London, just before the latter's departure for America. The date of the document, missing in the original, is established by internal evidence (reference to Michael's return from the Indies, his proposed voyage to America, etc.), as well as by the English correspondence which accompanied it, a letter by Barnard to his cousin Solomon Henry in London, dated November 20, 1758.

Letters 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10 were written at various times between 1761 and 1767 by a certain Meyer Josephson, who describes himself (in letter 4) as a קונטרע שאפּ קיפּער ("country shopkeeper") of Reading, Pennsylvania. In the original the writer's Hebrew signature appears as מאיר בן כהר"ר יוסף ז"ל מיעוור. His English name was most certainly Meyer Josephson. So at least it appears in the tax-lists of Reading and in the records of the Naturalization Court in Philadelphia. The word מיעוור probably indicates Josephson's place of origin in the Old World, the town or district of Jevr, in the province of Oldenburg, Germany, near the border of East Friesland. The presence of one or two Dutch words in Josephson's Yiddish letters lends support to this hypothesis.

Josephson came to America some time about the middle of the century. He settled in Reading before 1756, and he appears to have lived there continuously until the early 70's. His name appears first in a tax-list of 1756 as Meyer Joseph-

son, "a single man."¹ In 1762 he is listed as a married man and is assessed at £24, of which £12 represent his assessment as a landlord. In 1761 he is recorded as having purchased for £25 a lot on the east side of Queen Street from Moses Heyman, merchant, and Rebecca his wife, of Philadelphia; and two years later he sells the same lot to Henry Eckert of Heidelberg, Pennsylvania. After 1763, his assessments gradually decrease. In 1768 he appears on the tax-lists as owning "one house, one lot, one horse, no negroes, and one cattle." In 1770 he is taxed £8 for the county and £6 for special taxes. His name does not appear on the tax-list for 1771 or for subsequent years. His occupation is invariably given as shopkeeper. His wife's name, we learn, was Esther, and his son, who was a private in the militia, was Joseph. His daughter's name (letter 6) is not given.

Josephson appears to have engaged in considerable legal controversy in and about Reading. In February, 1759 he obtained a judgment against Jacob Hoffman for 15 pounds, 15 shillings and nine pence. In May, 1763 he sued John Morgan; in November of the same year he brought an action against Amos Jones.² In May, 1765 he started proceedings against Martin Long. In February, 1767 he went to law with Durst Pfister, and in 1769 he was in controversy with Christopher Herring. In August of the same year he was sued by Peter Geehr and in November by a man named Artz. Two years later, in 1771, he sued his own lawyer, the well-known Edward Biddle. The case dragged on until 1773, when judgment was finally given him as plaintiff.

So far as specifically Jewish matters are concerned, there is a reference in one of these letters to Josephson's going to

¹ The writer is indebted to Charles B. Montgomery, Curator of the Berks County Historical Society, for most of the biographical details regarding Meyer Josephson given here.

² Josephson appears to have been quite successful in most of these court actions.

Lancaster for Yom Kippur (1763) for a *minyan*, probably at the home of Joseph Simon (letter 5). Josephson invited Michael Gratz to come out and act as *parnass*. In a memorandum attached to another letter (No. 3), he acknowledged receipt—among other merchandise—of “one pair of Tefilin.” In letter 3 also, he appears to be in a mood to celebrate Purim in the traditional style. Letter 5, written on the eve of Rosh Hashanah, 5524, corresponding to September 7, 1763, begins with the traditional New Year’s greeting in Hebrew.

The writer of letter 8, Nachman ben Moshe, of Reading, seems to be identical with the Nachman of “Schwamp” [Longswamp, Berks County, Pennsylvania?], mentioned in letter 9. Further identification has not been possible.

The last letter in the series (No. 11) is written by Joseph Simon, the Lancaster merchant, founder of the Jewish community of Lancaster and father-in-law of Michael Gratz. There are a number of references to him in the earlier issues of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, and a brief biographical sketch of him by Evans appears in the Lancaster County Historical Society’s *Papers*, vol. 3, No. 7 (1899).

Comment on the language of these letters appears below.

BARNARD GRATZ, PHILADELPHIA, TO MICHAEL GRATZ,
LONDON. [NOVEMBER 20, 1758.]

שלום לאהו' אחי חביבי וידידי כנפשי הבח' כ' וחיאל שו' ר"ד טוק

... בריכטי מיין גוטע גיזונדהייט דערא גלויכן וויל האפן דז אצלך ג"כ ניכט מנקיהרן ווירט
זונשטן ליבר ברודיר בוויילן איך גיהערט חבי ביא ש"ב הבח' כ' שלמה שו' זיין בריבן צו ש"ב
דז דוא צו רוק מאידניא [sic] קומשט וואונדערט מיך מאוד ורק קאן ניכט פיל זאגן בוויילן ניכט וו
אורזאכע ורק וואהן דיר קונטרנטירן קאנשט בכאן אין דיא מדינה צו וואונין אונ איין שאפף
צו הלמן וואהן קומפאווייל בישט. אדר צו וואונין אצל בעה"ב שלי מישטיר דוד פרענקס זוא וואל
דיר ראטין לכאן צו קומין מיט ערשטי ספינה אין די שפרינג מוזט דיר אבר פארנעמען צו פאלגן
וואש מיר דיר ראטין ווערין בכאן דען וויל האפן ווירט אלש לטובתך זיין, מיין דיעה ווער דז דו
לכאן קומשט אונ אצל בעה"ב שלי שטוהן ב' או ג' שנים ביז דז דוא דען מו"מ בכאן לערינשט און
דאש זעלביג שכירות חבין אלש וויא איך גיהאט חבי אונ דען קאנשט דוא דיין מעות אן
מישטיר משה פרענקס געבן אונ איין ארדיר נעמין אן מישטיר דוד פרענקס בכאן ביצאלט
צו ווערין וואהן דוא לכאן קומשט וואלכש דענק ווער בעשיר אלו ווי אין דיא מדינה שאפף
צו האלטן מישטיר דוד פרענקס איז גאר איין גוטר מאן אונ דוא קאנשט וואש פרדינן מיט דיין
געלט בכאן, זונדרין עשה כטוב בעיניך טוא וויא דוא ווילשט נאר לאז מיר ווישן ע"י וואש
בדיעה האשט אונ זיין קיין גאנזן ממני אחיך ישכר בער
גרים הכל משפחתינו

ע"ש, ליבר ברודיר וואהן דוא בדיעה האשט לכאן צו קומן אונ מיט מישטיר פרענקס
וואונן זוא מוזט דוא לגמרי קיין סחורה מיט דיר ברענגן דוא קאנשט מער ביא דיין מעו'
בכאן פארדינן, ע"כ ווירשט מיר דיא טובה טוהן אונ ש"ב כ' שלמה י"ט ליטרו' זאגן
£ 19 Ster. מיינט וועגין ביצאלן אונ וואהן דוא לכאן קומשט וויל דיר עש מיד ווידרום
ביצאלן אונ דיא רעשט גיב אן משה פרענקס אונ לאז ער דיר איין ארדיר געבן אן
אן מישטיר דוד פרענקס בכאן, אונ קום מיט דיא ערשטי שוף בוויילין האב שן מיט
בעה"ב שלי גירעט בשבילך אונ ער ווירט פאר דיר ווארטין ביז חודש ניסן או אייר
דאך מאגשט טוהן וויא דוא ווילשט.

בזו הרגע חבי קונסידירט עס ש"ב כ' קאפיל וואהן דוא וואש מעו' האשט מאגשט דוא
מיט דיר ברענגן לערך ו"ח א ק' כסף וואטשים פון מ"ה [ביז] נ"ה דנר' שטיק און עטליכע נויא
פעשין וואטש טשענז אונ לערך ק' טוצינט ווייביר שוא דיא זיין גימאכט פון קאלימענקא
אונ וואוסטיר . . . אלירהנט קולעריין אונ עטליכע טוצינד ווייביר מיטינש שווארץ
וואשטירד אונ וואש אנדרי זאכן דען קאנשט דוא דיין געלט אויש ליגן און ניש נמיג אן משה
פרענק צו געבן, דוא קאנשט איהם פראגן וואש ער דענקט דז דוא לכאן ברענגן זאלשט וואהן
דוא מער געלט האשט אלש וויא דיא אויבן גימעלטי זאכן צו קומן—און לאז עש אסורירט זיין

TRANSLATION.

I report that I am in good health, and I hope you are too.

I learn from the letter of our relative Shelomo to our relative Koppel that you have returned from India. I am very much surprised, but I cannot say much because I do not know the reason [for your return].

Only if you are satisfied to live in the country and keep a shop (if you are at all able to do that), or to live with my landlord, Mr. David Franks,—would I advise you to come here (by the first boat in the Spring).³ But you must agree to follow our advice. In that case I hope everything will turn out satisfactorily to you. My plan would be that you come here and stay with my landlord two or three years until you learn the business. Meanwhile you will get the same wages that I got. [In that case,] you might turn your money over to Mr. Moses Franks and take an order on Mr. David Franks, here, to be paid when you arrive. I think this would be better than keeping a shop in the country. Mr. David Franks is a very good man, and you will be able to make some money with your capital here. Otherwise, “do as is good in thine own eyes,” but do let me know what you have in mind. And don’t be too proud.

Your brother, ISACHAR BER

Remember me to everybody in our family.

P. S. Dear brother, if you intend to come here and live with Mr. Franks, you should not bring with you any merchandise whatsoever. You will be able to earn more with your money here. Will you please, therefore, do me the favor of paying our relative Shelomo nineteen pounds, i. e. £ 19 Ster. on my account. When you arrive, I shall return the sum at once. The rest you ought to give to Moses Franks and have him issue an order on Mr. David Franks here. Come over by the first boat, as I have already spoken to my landlord about you, and he will wait for you until the month of Nissan or Iyar. However, you may do as you please.

I have just [re]considered the matter with our relative Koppel. If you have some money, you might bring with you about 18 or 20 silver watches, worth from 45 to 55 *dinars* a piece, some new-fashioned watch-chains, about 20 dozens of women’s shoes made of calamanco and worsted . . . of all colors, a few dozens of women’s mittens of black worsted, and a few other articles. In this case you can invest your money [in these articles] and not turn it over to Moses Franks. You might ask him what he thinks you ought to bring here if you had more money than you needed for the articles mentioned above. Let them be insured.

³ Michael Gratz actually sailed from England in April, 1759.

MEYER JOSEPHSON, READING, TO MICHAEL AND BARNARD GRATZ, PHILADELPHIA. THURSDAY, 15.TH OF MARCHESHVAN, 5522. [NOVEMBER 2, 1761.]

ב"ה פה רעדין יום ה' ט"ו מרחשון תקכ"ב לפ"ק

החיים והשלום וכל טוב לאה' אדוני חביבי ה"ה הבח' ר' יחיאל יצ"ו ולאחיו האלוף והקצין אי"א כש"ת כ' בערנאט יצ"ו וכו"ל

הנה באתי להודיע אלש ב"ה בקו הברואה בין וגם אתמול בלילה האלוף והקצין ר' יעקב מן היקרעטוין בכאן אריווירט זיון עם בתו הבתולה מרת רבקה תי' ווערין אפשר ח' יום בכאן בליובן אונט אשתי תחי' ווירט אפשר ווען גוט וועטמיר איזט מיט זיא לביתם ריוון אונט שם בליובן ביז איך למקום ריוו וועלכש דענקת אי"ה אלש זיון ווערט אין ב' או ג' שבועות ווער גערנט שבועה זו גירויזט, עש פעהלט מיר אבער נור אן חברותה. דהיינו ק' שיל... ג בילדער וועלכש האבן מוז פר חברותה, וואש אן לנגט מן לעדדיר ווען אקאזיאהן זיך טרעפן זולטת אלש אלף ליטרות זאגה 1000 lb קויפן קענשט גוט לעדדיר פר לערך י"ג כל ליטרי' גיב דיר ארדיר פר מיר צו קויפן וויל דש מעות תיכף מיר פר צאלן אלש למקום קום אונט ווען זולטת איין ספינה און קומן מיט לעדדיר אונט דוא עש איזת יום אויש ליגן זולטת וויל דיר פר דיון טרחה קונטענמירן, וואש נור פרעדענדירן זיון ווערשט, אלזו פר לאז מיך אלש דוא דיך אינפערמירן ווערשט ווען לעדדיר אן קומן ווערט, דען האב לע"ע קיון ליטרי' יותר אין בית, אלזו מוז אלף ליטרות אויף דיא ווינטר האבן קאן נישט וואוהל דער זונדר טוהן, וגם מוז דיר מודיע זיון אלש דוא מיר כותב גיוועזן בישט אלש שיקשט מיר

א' חטיבה בלענקישט

א' חטיבה האלב שיקן

א' פאהר בלענקישט

וגם מישטער בוש מעלדט אלש שיקט מיר וויא פאלגט

חצי מאה פולוור

א' חטיבה בלענקישט

ב' בעגז בלויא בוטמינז

א' חטיבה האלב שיקן

אלזו איזט אלש ריכטיג איבר קומן עקצעפט האב נור אחד חטיבה

בלענקישט מקבל גיוועזין, נוא קאן נישט וויסען אויב בוש

זיון נישט איבר גיקומן איזט אונט אויב מישטער פרענקש זיון בלענקישט

נישט איבר קומן איזט

איך האב דעסין האלבן כותב גיוועזין צו בוש אונט צו אייך פר

בלענקישט ווען וואו אחד קיינה האבן זולטת אלש דער אחר האבן

ווערט אונט בן איין בעל מרכת אלש אלי ביידה גהאט העט,

איך האב לע"ע בויא מיר לערך שמונים בושיל פלאקן זיד קאן
 אבער קיין גלעגנהייט אן טרעפן אום למקום צו שיקן, דענקא אלש ווער ליגן
 לאזן ביז איך זעלכר נאך מקום קום ווער, אפשר ווערט עש בזול או יוקר
 מוז מיין אוואנטור וואגן, דומי לי אלש נאך אין ב' או ג' שבועות ביט
 בזול ווערין ווערט, ווער ג' וועגן מיט ברענגן דהיינו מיט פלאקן זיד אונט פוטטיר
 אונט אינשליך אבער קיין וואגן מיט מעות דש ווערט מיין סום טראגן קעגן,

[In margin]

בקשתי ממך ווערשט מיר שבוע הבע"ל בויא דיא שמעהטש מעלדן וועלכש
 הטיבה בלענקיט אצלכם גבליבן איזט אייערו או מישטער בוש זיינש,
 ממני חביבך הק' מאיר כהר"ר יוסף ז"ל מיעוור אשתי תי'
 לאזט אייך ביחד גרויסן

TRANSLATION.

I wish to inform you that I am well, thank God.

Last night the rich and respected R. Jacob of Hickorytown came here with his daughter Rebecca. They will probably remain here eight days. If the weather is good, my wife may travel home with them and stay there until I go to the city.⁴ This, I think, will be in two or three weeks (if God is willing). I should like to go this week, but I lack company, that is, twenty shillings, the sort of pictures which one must have as company [on a journey]. As regards the leather, if the occasion should present itself to you to buy one thousand pounds, i. e. 1000 lbs., of good leather for about 13 a pound, I give you herewith an order to buy for me. I will pay in cash for the same as soon as I get to town. And if a ship with leather should arrive and you should advance [the money] for it, I will satisfy you for your trouble—whatever you will claim. Hence I depend upon you to keep yourself posted as to the arrival of [shipments of] leather. For I haven't another pound of it in the house. I must therefore have one thousand pounds for the winter. I cannot get along without it.

I must also inform you that you wrote me you were sending me:

- 1 package of blankets
- 1 package of half-tacks
- 1 pair of blankets

Also Mr. Bush advises me he is sending me as follows:

- 1 half-hundred of powder
- 1 package of blankets
- 2 bags of blue buttons
- 1 package of half-tacks

⁴I. e., Philadelphia.

Everything has been duly received except that I have only one package of blankets. I have not received [it]. I can't tell whether it is Bush's blankets that have not come or Mr. Franks'. I have therefore written both to Bush and to you for blankets. If one of you hasn't any, the other might have, and I should be as lucky as if you had both had [the blankets].

I have now about eighty bushels of flax-seed, but I have no opportunity to send them on to town. I think I will let them lie here till I go to town myself. It may become cheap[er] or dearer, but I must be venturesome. It seems to me that it will not get cheaper in two or three weeks.

I shall bring along three wagons, that is, [one] with flax-seed, [the other with] fodder, and [the third with] provisions. But [I'll] not [have] a wagon [load] of money—*that* my horse will be able to carry [upon him].

I request you to inform me next week by the stage which package of blankets remains with you, yours or Mr. Bush's.

Your friend, Meyer ben Joseph of Jevr.

My wife greets both of you.

3

MEYER JOSEPHSON, READING, TO MICHAEL GRATZ,
PHILADELPHIA. SATURDAY EVENING, SABBATH
TERUMAH, 6TH OF ADAR 5523. [FEBRUARY 19, 1763.]
SECOND PART OF LETTER TO BARNARD GRATZ.

ב"ה מוצאי' שבת קודש תרומה תקכ"ג לפ"ק
שלום לאה' אדוני חביבי הבח' כ' יחיאל יצ"ו
ובאלש

הנה באתי להודיע אלש בן ביא יחאן לעששיר גיוועזן אונט
גפראגט פֿר דש מעות פֿר דיא נאָט האט מיר תשובה
גגעבן אלש נים צאלן וויל אורזאך דוא האָשט נים דען
ניגר אן גגעבן אין פילעדעלפי', אונט דש איזט דיא
אורזאך דש ער האט מוזן דיא קנס געבן דש איזט זיין תאני'
אבר דאך האט מיר תשובה ווען דוא עש ווילשט צו ב'
מאן קומן לאזן וויל מיט דיר אקורדירן, האב אים תשובה
געבן דש דוא עש נים מוהן ווערשט אונט איך גלויב דוא ווערשט קיין שוה
פרומה ווייניגר נעמן דען דיא נאט איזט, האט מיר תשובה גגבן
דען מוזט אים צואין פֿר דש מעות ער וויל דיר עש נים צאָהלן,
דומי' לי' ווען דוא אים בקומן קענשט אין פילעדעלפי' ווער בעסיר
אים צו צואין דען בכאן אין מקום ווען אבר נים פֿר דיא מאיו' קאָהרט קומן

זאלט אין פילעדעלפ' מוזט דוא אים בכאן אין מקום צואין,,
ווען דוא בדיעה זולשט האבן אום בכאן צו קומן אויף פורים ווערשט
מיר בייא דען ערל וויסן לאזן אום מיכן צו זיין אויף איין המן
וגם גוטע גלעגנהייט פר דיין אלט דען דער ערל ווייט דיא
דרך בעסיר וויא זונשט איינר ממני חביבו הק" מאיר בן
כהרר יוסף ז"ל מיעוור
ולאחז האלף והקצין כ' בער יצ"ו
מאחר אלש קונראט ריוף הכל דיא עורות נעמט וועלכש איך
בקומן האב מן מקום דהיינו 140 Stük, אונט לע"ע פר נומן האבן
מן גערביר בכאן וועלכש לערך ב' חתיכות גקויפט
האט בפילעדעלפ' אונט האט רשות אום אויש צו זוכן וועלכש דיא
שאדן האבן מן ים וואססיר או זונשט מן ווערים אלש מאג צו רוק
לויגן פר ו' בש ליטר' אלזו ווען דוא פר מיר ג' 50 Stük קויפן קענשט
דש גוטע עורות זיין ווערשט פר מיר קויפן אונט מיר וויסן לאזן
דורך דען עריל דער גערביר האט מיר גזאגט אלש לרוב צו
בקומן זיין לע"ע אין מקום האט קענן ה' מאות חתיכות בקומן פר דען
פריוז אלזו ווערשט מיר תשובה מעלדן וויל דיר פר דיין טרחת צאלן
וגם ווען גוטע הירש פעלן לע"ע בייא דיר האשט ווערשט מיר גם כן איין
גוט בונדיל אויש זוכן ווען גוט זיין זונדיר דעמישט וויל דש
מעות בייא ערשט גלעגנהייט שיקן, או זעלביר ברענגן אי"ה
לאחר פסח מוז איך זעלביר נאך מקום קומן אום נעמירליצירן צו לאזן
ווינשה איין לושטיגן פורים אונט גוטן המן { גרים דיין פראה
פון מיר אונ מיין פראה }
וגם בקשתי ממך אלש ווערשט מיט דיין ערל גיין נאך דען שערף אין
פילעדעלפ' אונט איין ריט פר מיר נעמן ווערשט פר John Stout
וועלכש איזט פליטה גאנגן מכאן אונט מיר חייב איזט פר סחורות
ועל כולם בן נאך ערוב פר אים גווארדן פר יוד ליטורות אונט איז
פליטה גאנגן מכאן פון זיין ערבות אבר האב יוד ליטורות
שוין פון אים מקבל גוועזן אונט לע"ע פר נומן האב וואו ער
איז אונט משולמן קאן אלזו האב דיין עריל ארדיר גגעבן
מיט דען שערף נאך זיין בית צו גיין אונט זעהן דש פר
מיר בקומט ווען זולמה ונידר דיין קענן הנני מוכן לשרתו

[Brief memorandum in English appended. Account for one pair of "Tefelin," needles, three dozen worsted capes, nine dozen playing-cards, four dozen Indian hose, handkerchiefs, stockings, etc.]

TRANSLATION.

I desire to inform you that I have been to John Leshner's and asked him for the money for the note. He replied that he would not pay because you had not surrendered the "nigger" in Philadelphia. And that is the reason why he had to pay the penalty. That is his claim.

But he also replied that if you would let the matter come before two men [as arbitrators], he would settle the matter with you. I answered that you would not do this and that I believed you would not take a penny less than what the note calls for. He then said that you would have to sue him for the money, because he would not pay. It seems to me that if you could get him in Philadelphia, it would be better to sue him [there] than here in this town. But if he does not come up for the May court in Philadelphia, you will have to sue him here. If you expect to come here for Purim, let me know through the Gentile in order that I might prepare [as] for a Haman. This will also be a good opportunity for [presenting] your old [claim], as the Gentile knows the way better than any one else.

Your friend

MEYER BEN JOSEPH

And to his brother, the rich and respected Ber: ⁵

Conrad Reiff took all the skins which I brought from town (that is, 140 pieces). I have not heard from the local tanner who had bought about 200 pieces in Philadelphia and who has the right of selecting those damaged by sea-water or worms, and rejecting them [and keeping the remainder] for £ 6, two sh[illings]. Therefore, if you can get for me fifty [pieces]—good skins—buy them for me and let me know about it by the Gentile. The tanner told me that there are great quantities [of skins] now to be obtained in town. He could have gotten 500 pieces for the same price. So let me know by way of reply [whether that is true or not], and I'll pay you for your trouble. If you have some good deerskins, pick out for me a good bundle of them, undamaged. I'll send the money [for them] at the first opportunity, or bring it myself (if God be willing).

After Pessach I shall have to go to town to be naturalized. I wish you a merry Purim and a good Haman. Greetings to your wife from me and my wife.

I also ask you to go with this fellow to the sheriff in Philadelphia and take out for me a writ on John Stout, who has failed here and who owes me money for merchandise. To add to my troubles, I am surety for him for ten pounds. He has failed and run away from his creditors, but I have already received ten pounds from him. I have now learned where he is and that he can pay. I have therefore ordered this fellow to go with the sheriff to his house and try to get my [money]. If I can serve you again, I am ready to do so.

⁵ The address or superscription in Hebrew, as usual.

4

MEYER JOSEPHSON, READING, TO MICHAEL GRATZ,
PHILADELPHIA. UNDATED. SHORTLY AFTER
LETTER 3.

קודם כל דבר בדנקה איך פר זיינה גוטא קומפאניע אויף פורים
וויא גמעלט האט אלש דענקט בכאן צו זיין, יעדאך בן אים דן
לכף זכות, אונט ווען אויף פסח לטובה בכאן קומן וואלטה ניחה
לי מאוד, דען איך בין אבלאשירט גלייך נאך פסח צו קומן אום מיך
נעטורעליצירן צו לאזן אונט דש איזט יוד אפריל אלזו ווען קומן וויל
קאן אים קאמפאניע געבן לאחורי אי"ה נאך פילעדעלפי' וגם ווערט מיר
מודיע זיין וואש חדשים זיין לע"ע אין עולם האב לנג ניקש פר
נומן מן אדוני האב אים חושד גיוועזין אלש לע"ע ניש מיט איין
קונטרע שאפף קיפער קרשפאנדירן וויל וויילן לע"ע בדועה האט איין
לאנדושר סוחר צו ווערן יעדאך ווינשה אים מוזל וברכה בכל אשר יפנה
יצליח, אונט איין שוין מעטכח מיט ברענגן איזט אויך גוט ווערט אחו
כ' בער זאגן דש בדועה האב נאך י"ט אי"ה נאך מקום צו קומן
דען ווער זעלבר זעהן אויב וואש עורות אימפלאגירן קאן, אבר ווען
אונטר דיזה צייט פר קויפן קאן פר מיר קיינה צו בהאלטן דען דיא
גערבירז אין מדינה האבן קיין מעות בכאן אונט צו בורגן איזט קיין
מו"מ זונשטן קענטה גניגן פר אים פר קויפן חדשים מעותים
ממני חביבו הק' מאיר בן כהר"ר יוסף ז"ל מיעוור
אשתי תי' ובני יוסף לעב לאזן אייך ביחד גריסן
איך פר ווארטה אחו כ' בער שבועה זו בכאן אום צו חשכון
עם הערלכורג: וד"ל:
בקשתי מיך דיא כבוד צו ערווייזן אום תשובה צו מעלדן
שבועה זו

[In margin:]

ווערט מוחל זיין פער ערשטה גל[ג]נ[הייט] דיזוש כתב
לכה"ר משה קלעווא צו שיקן.

TRANSLATION.

First of all allow me to thank you for your company last Purim, as you had informed me you intended to pay me a visit here. However, I must be fair to you. If you could come over for Pessach I should be very much pleased, for I am obliged to leave [for Philadelphia] immediately after Pessach in order to be naturalized.⁶ That will be the tenth of April. Therefore, if you want to come, I shall

⁶ Meyer Josephson was actually naturalized in Philadelphia on April 13, 1763.

be pleased to entertain you after my return (God be willing!) from Philadelphia. Will you also please let me know what news there is. I have not heard anything from you for a long time. I have suspected that you did not care to correspond any longer with a country shop keeper, because you now have intentions of becoming a merchant on a large scale. I certainly wish you luck. "May you be successful wherever you turn." And if you bring along a pretty girl, that too will be good.

Will you please inform your brother Ber that I expect to be in town after the Holiday (if God be willing). I shall then see for myself whether I can dispose of the skins. But if he can in the meantime sell any of them for me, let him not keep them, for the tanners about here have no money, and it would not be profitable to borrow [any money]. Otherwise it would pay him to sell [them]. There is little news. Your friend,

MEYER BEN JOSEPH.

My wife and my son Joseph Leb send their greetings to both of you.

I expect your brother Ber this week in order to settle the Heidelberg matter. "A word to the wise . . ."

I ask you to do me the honor of replying this very week.

[In margin:]

I shall be obliged if you will send the [enclosed] letter to Moses Cleva at the first opportunity.

5

MEYER JOSEPHSON, READING, TO MICHAEL GRATZ,
PHILADELPHIA. WEDNESDAY, EREV ROSH
HASHANAH, 5524. [SEPTEMBER 7, 1763.]

ב"ה פה רעדין יום ד' ער"ה תקכ"ד לפ"ק

השנה טובה תכתב ותחתם לאה' אדוני חביבי האלוף
הבח' ר' יחיאל יצ"ו ובאל"ש

הנה באתי להודיע אלש כתבו מן איין כתב צו מישטער ריעד שבוע'
העבור קבלתי אונט בין תכף מיד גגאנגן נאך דיא אפפיו
אונט אים ערווכט דש דיר דיא גפאלן מוהן זלמי וויילן נאך ענגלנד
ריוזט אום צו מאכן דש עש אויף דיוה צופריעם קאהרט גטרייט
ווערדין קענטה. האט מיר משב גוועזין דש עש צו שפעקט
איזט אורזאך וויילן לעששיר איין פריא האלדיר איזט אונט ער מוז
יוד יום קודם דיא צופריעם קאהרט גצומינז ווערדן אונט
דיין כתב צו שפעט גקומן איזט אום אים צו צומינז, לע"ע

דש הייסט, משפטים בעל ידעם, אונט יחאן ראז האט
 דיא שולד אורזאך ווען עש העט גזעלט אויף די צופריעם
 קאהרט זיין העט עש אויש נעמין גקענט אויש די אפפיו וויא
 בכאן גוועזין איזט, דענקא ווען דוא עש צו איין סוף האב
 ווילשט ווערשט עש מוזן דיא נוועמבר קאהרט בכאן מרייען מיט
 דעם נבילה, דענקא אלש קיין סכנה זיין קענטה
 אלש פר לירן זולשט דש משפט, בין דיר מודיע אלש י"ב
 לטובה נאך לענקעשמיר האב בדיעה אי"ה צו גיין צו מנין, ווען
 אויך שם קומן קענשט ניחה לי', דען אפשר גברויכט
 מן שם אחד פר פרנס, זונשטן חדושים מעומים ממני הביבו
 הק' מאיר בן כהרר יוסף ז"ל מיעוור
 ווינשה אייך ביחד כתיבה וחתימה טובה אמן ואמן, אונט פיל געלד

[English postscript:] My Compliments to Mr. Barnard and his Spouse. I wish them a Happy New Year & a fine Son.

TRANSLATION.

I wish to advise you that I have received your letter, enclosed in the one sent to Mr. Read last week. I went at once to his office and asked him to do you the favor (since he is about to leave for England) of seeing to it that the matter be tried at the present session of the Supreme Court. He replied that it was too late now, because Leshner is a freeholder and must be summoned ten days before [the session of] the Supreme Court. Your writ came too late to summon him. That is, for the present [session]. "The laws they do not know."⁷ John Ross⁸ is responsible [for this delay]. If it had come before the Supreme Court, he could have taken it out of the office when it was here. I think that if you want to bring the matter to an end, you will have to try it here with that worthless fellow in the November Court. I don't think there is any danger of your losing the case.

I want to inform you that I intend to go to Lancaster for the *minyan* for Yom Kippur (if God be willing). I should be glad if you could go there, too. We might need some one there as a *parnass*. Otherwise there is little news. Your friend,

MEYER BEN JOSEPH

Best wishes for both of you for a happy new year and lots of money.

⁷ A humorous reference to *Psalms* cxlvii, 20.

⁸ John Ross was a half brother of George Ross, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and one of the most prominent lawyers in Philadelphia.

MEYER JOSEPHSON, READING, TO BARNARD GRATZ,
PHILADELPHIA, SUNDAY, THE GENTILES' NEW YEAR,
5524. [JANUARY 1, 1764.] LATTER PART OF LETTER
ADDRESSED TO MICHAEL GRATZ.

ב"ה פה' רעדין יום א' ניוֹאָר בגוים תקכ"ד לפ"ק

שלום לאח' אדוני חביבי ה"ה האלוף והקצין איא"ל כש"ת כ' בער יצ"ו
וכאל"ש

הנה באתי להודיע אלש אשתי תו' איזט צו מוזל אינקימפעט געקומן עשרה בטבת
העבור עם בת איין מעטכה וווא איין פויאלישע מייט איזט ב"ה גנץ וואוהל
פר דיא צייט אונט זויגט זעלבר וועלכש מיר אויך ק' לויט' פארטיל איזט
וגם מוין יורשלה מייט איזט לע"ע נאך אין היקרעטוין דער פורמאן האט מוזן
די לאָד ליגן לאזן אונט איר גם כן אונט איזט לעתה בביתו קומן, [אונט] איך
האב קיין תשובה פון טיינס [?] בקומן מוין מאהט איזט זויא איין חכמשה דש
האט אלי כתבים בייא זיך בהאלטן אונט האט זיא נאך בייא זיך, אלזו האב
מוזן איין שליח מיוחד שיקן פר איר מוט ב' סוסים אום איר אפף הוילן
צו לאזן ווען לבסוף נור גוט אויש פאלט בן מוט אלש צו פרידי, וגם
וגם בן דיר מודיע אלש בן לא אליכם ב' שבועות אין בעט גלעגן האב
קעלט בקומן אונט האט מיך איבר נומן לאחר זאת איזט מיר אין דיא פיז
או גלים גקומן דש לע"ע נאך נישט גיין קאן אונט אונזר חכם פון דאקטיר
זאגט עש איזט די רומימען וויילן אבר זויא איין גדול מובן איזט גלאב איך אים
ניקש, דענקת עש איזט ניקש אנדרשט וווא איין פר קעלטונג דען עש איזט
מיר ערשט אין רוקן גקומן אונט לבסוף מוט שטעכט אין דיא זייט לאחר זאת
אין דיא פיז אונט ציפפערלי קאן עש נישט זיין וויילן קיין קצין בין, בן
בן ב"ה לע"ע זויא ווייט אלש קאן ווידר אין בית ארום גיין, איבר
שיקה היר בייא איין לישט פון זאטליר סחורות ווען דיא צארטומענטן
בקומן קאן איזט הכל גאטליך צו פר קויפן, מוז דיר אבר מודיע זיין
דש דיא זאטליר סחורות וועלכש פון ק"ק לונדן קומן הכל יוקרר זיין אלש וווא
פון ברומטשום אלזו ווען דו קאשפערלאָנו מאכן קענשט שם מוין קרע[דיט]
איזט ק' פערצענט בוזלר, דיא לישט איזט גמאכט וואש אחד סוחר
נעמט או אחד זאטליר וועלכש הרבה משורתם האט אלזו קענשט דוא
ג' או ד' פעמים זויא הרבה קומן לאזן מיינה ג' או ד' באקציו או פעסיר
וווא דיר זעלבר בעשט דענקט, בקשתי מאדוני ווען נאך ק"ק לונדן
שרויבט אלש איין כשר קען קומן לאזט וויל אים גערין רווחים צאלן
ווען אחד פר מיר קאן לאזט פון שלשים ליטרות, ווערשט מיר מודיע זיין
וווא אייזאק לעווי' טהעטט אויב עטוואש בעסיר ווערט ממני חביבו הק' מאיר בן כהרר יוסף זל מיעוור
שלום לא"ה אדוני אחו הבח' כ' יחואל יצ"ו

איבר שיקה היר בייא מ"ו ליטרות מעות זאגה. — £46 פר דש לעדדיר וועלכש
ערוב פר מיר גוועזן איזט וגם בדנקת איך פר גאפאלן וועלכש גוועזן איזט

דש לעדדיר איזט נישט זיין גוט וויא גמיינט האבי איזט צו לייכט
 איך ה' או ו' מאות שוועהר לעדדיר בקומן קענט דש וועגן זעלמי י"ד או
 ליטות אחד זייט אנגעוירטש וואלטה לע"ע קויפן אונט אינש מיט אנדר צו פאטרן וון
 זן קענטה אזוי שוועהר ווערט מיר מודיע זיין,, איך וויש נישט אויב מ"ה או מ"ו ליטת איזט וואש[עש]
 [בן פר

TRANSLATION.

I desire to inform you that my wife was happily delivered of a daughter on the tenth of Tebeth last, a girl [as beautiful] as a Polish maid. She is, thank God, very well and nurses [the child] herself. This is worth 20 pounds to me.

My Jewish maid is still at Hickorytown. The driver had to leave the load lying and her also, and return empty-handed. I have received no news from Tines[?]. My maid is such a clever girl that she kept all the letters with her; she still has them. I therefore had to send a special messenger with two horses to get her. If all ends well, I shall be satisfied.

I also want to inform you that I have been sick in bed for two weeks (may you be spared such trouble!). I had caught a cold and it got the better of me. Later I got it in my feet. I cannot walk even now. And our *chacham* of a doctor says it is rheumatism. But since he knows so much, I don't believe him. I think it is nothing more than a cold, for I first got it in my back, then with stitches in my side, and after that in my feet. It can't be *Zipperlein* because I am not a wealthy man. Thank God, I have recovered so far that I can walk about in the house.

I send you herewith a list of saddlery wares. If you can get this assortment, we shall be able to sell all of it with profit. But I must tell you that the saddlery wares which come from London are more expensive than those from Brummagem.⁹ If you can "make Casperlonu," my credit there is 20 percent lower.¹⁰ The list shows what [the articles would cost if] one merchant made them or one saddler working with many apprentices. You can therefore have three or four times as much [merchandise] sent over, that is to say, three or four boxes or barrels, as you yourself think best.

⁹ Thus in the Yiddish original. The meaning is, of course, Birmingham.

¹⁰ The meaning of this sentence, particularly of the word *Casperlonu*, is not clear. Mr. Alexander Harkavy, the well-known Yiddish lexicographer, suggests *casperliade* (German, "buffoonery"). The sentence would then read: "If you can play the buffoon, etc."

I also request you to order a kosher cheese [for me] when you write to London. I will gladly pay you the profits if you can get one of thirty pounds for me. Let me know how Isaac Levi is and whether he is any better. Your friend

MEYER BEN JOSEPH

Greetings to my master, your brother Yehiel.

I send herewith forty-six pounds, i. e., £ 46 — for the leather for which you were guarantor for me. I also thank you for the kindness you showed me. But the leather is not as good as I had expected. It is too light. If I could get five or six hundred [hides of] heavy leather which should weigh about 14 or 15 lbs. each or more, I should buy [them] now, in order to get rid of the two [lots] together. If you can get such heavy leather, will you please let me know. I do not know whether 45 or 46 is . . . ¹¹)

7

MEYER JOSEPHSON, READING, TO BARNARD AND
MICHAEL GRATZ, PHILADELPHIA. MONDAY,
SHUSHAN PURIM, 5524. [FEBRUARY 18, 1764.]

ב"ה פה רעדון יום ב' שושן פורים תקב"ד לפ"ק

שלום לאהובי אדוני חביבי ה"ה האלוף והקצין ב' בער יצ"ו
ולאחיו הכה' ב' יחיאל יצ"ו

וכאל"ש

גי"ה ב'זו הרגע אום ג' שלעק לאחר חצות לנכון קבלתי וגם איז גקומן
אין רעכטער צייט, ר' מרדכי האט וועלן ב'זו הרגע אוועק גיין נאך פילעדעלפוי
אונט ביטל דער לייאר האט מיר גזאגט אלש מאג אים גיין לאזן, אלזו האב אים
ערלאבט צו גיין אונט האט וועלן זיין זאכן ב'זו הרגע אויף איין עגלה מוהן,
וויא אבר דש כתב ערהאלטן האב, האב אים גזאגט מוז בכאן בלייבן,
ביז מאי' קאָהרט, איך ווינשה אלש ער נור פטור קומן מעכט דש ניש [דש?] ¹¹
גברויך תפוס צו זיין בכאן, איזט נאך קיין ב"י בכאן תפוס גוועזן וויילן
ב"י בכאן וואונן האב אים בדיעה אויז תפיסה צו האלטן ביז לערך דיא
קאָהרט איזט אונט אים דען תפוס גיין צו לאזן, יעדאך ווען ער
איין אנדר מאן בגעגנד העט וויא מיר העט אים קיינר קיין רגע אויש
תפיסה גהאלטן בין אים אבר דן לכף זכות זיין שכל גייט ניש ווייטער
אונט איזט איין גדול מהורק, וויל אים משלם זיין טובה בשביל
איזט איין ערליכר מאן, אבר זונדר קאָפּף, בקשתי ממכם
ווען מיגליך איזט דיא אַרשינאל צו בקומן מן ק"ק נייאירק דער לייאר

¹¹ illegible.

דענקט אים דאך צו קליארן, ווען עש נור בקומן קאן ווערט עוד פעם פר שרייבן ווען נאך נישט אצלעם איזט—גמילות חסד יותר מן הצדקה, האבי גדול רחמנות איבר אים אונט האב אים אפורירט בכאן ביא מיר אין בית צו זיין וויל אים עססין אונט לאדשן בחנם געבן וויל אבר נישט אלזו פר צעהרט זיין מעות און לידן וואש ביא מיר פר דינט האט, וואש אן לנגט מן ב"י וועלכש אצלעם גקומן זיין, ווערט דען פארשיין וועלכש דענקט אלש טוהן וויל פר מיר לכאן שיקן ווען אקורדט מיט אים מאכן קאן אום ביא מיר צו זיין אונט ער עש גלויכט וויל טוהן כל עת וואש רעזינאביל איזט מצדי, אונט ווען ער עש אויך טרייאן וויל פר איזה שבועות אייב עש אים גפאלט בכאן צו זיין. וויל אים דיא ברירה געבן, אונט וואש שכירות אן לנגט מוז דש... נישט צו הויך אן פאנגן ווייל פרעמט איזט אין מו"מ בכאן במדינות, דאש ווערשט דוא אים זעלבר זאגן, אונט זונשטן וואש רעכט איזט, הפך לטובה

יעדאך האבי לע"ע איין שיקן בכאן אין מקום אין בית איזט איין קצין איזט יותר וועהרט וויא איך זעלבר אונט אפשר ב' אלפום ליט" וותר, איזט אייזאק לעוואן זיין זון, איזט ביי מיר אויף טרייאל אום מו"מ צו לערנן קאן אים בחנם האבן פר שנים אונט איזט איין גוט שיקן האב אבר נאך קיין אגרימענד מיט אים גמאכט איזט נור בכאן אום צו טרייאן משני צדדים, אלזו ווען דער ב"י בכאן איזט ווער זעהן וואש צו טוהן איזט, אפשר האלט איך דש שיקן, אונט ווען דער ב"י קומפאביל איזט כמו"מ גיב אים איין שטאהר אויף חצי ריווחס וואן דענקא אלש טוהן וויל, לעולם קאן ער בכאן קומן ווערט קיין חיוזקות ביא האבן קעגן, אונט אפשר לאחר זאת קאן זיין ברורר אויך בכאן אין מקום אין מו"מ קומן וויילן קיין טובאקאנישט בכאן אין מקום איזט, אונט דיא טובאק ווערט גשיקט פון לענקעשטער לכאן אונט פילעדעלפי, אלזווא ווען ער עש פר שטייט קאן עש בזולר געבן בכאן אלש מן עש בקומן קאן ווען מן עש קומן לאזט פון מקום, ווען דוא נאך הירש פעלן בריטשויז ביא דיר האבשט ווערשט מיר חצי' מוצינט שיקן מוזן אבר מיט איין קלאפף פאָררן זיין נישט מיט איין שליח מיט קנעפף, דען דיא פויארן בכאן גלויכט עש נישט וויילן האבן ווערשט מיר דיא בעשטן אויש זוכן דען איך האב גזעהן ביא דיר איזה פאהר וועלכש צו שפיל זיין אום בכאן צו פר קויפן, וויל דיר דש מעות צאלן ווען אי"ה לטובה נאך מקום קום וגם יותר, אבר דאך נישט צו פיל, בין דיר מודיע אלש בין לא אליכם נאך פומציענט ברגלים אבר ב"ח גזונד פון הערטצן איזט דיא רומימיז מוז גדולר האבן ביז בעסר ווערט, האב שוין הרבה זאכן גברויכט אבר העלפט אלש ניקש איזט איין גדול פר קעלטונג, זונשטן חדושים מעומים ממני חביבו חק' מאיר בן כהרר יוסף ז"ל מיעוור איזט לע"ע ב' עגלות אין מקום מכאן ווען עשוואש זאכן ביא דען פארשוין

לכאן שיקן וויל קאן עש גשעהן וגם דער ב"י קאן בייא דיא עגלות
צום בעשטן בכאן קומן פאר הכל הבליים,
אדיע לעבט וואוהל

TRANSLATION.

This very minute, at the stroke of three in the afternoon I received your letter—just at the right time. Reb Mordecai¹² had wanted to leave for Philadelphia, and Biddle, the lawyer, told me that I might let him go. I therefore permitted him to leave. He was about to put his belongings into the wagon, when the letter came and I told him he would have to remain till the May court. I do hope he will be set free and not have to stay in jail here. Thus far, as long as Jews live here, not a single Jew has ever been in jail. I intend to keep him out until about the time the court opens and then to have him imprisoned. If he had met any other man but me, he would not have stayed out of jail for one minute. However, I ought to judge him "according to the scale of merit."¹³ He is not very intelligent, and he is a big ignoramus, besides. I want to treat him well because he is honest. But he is certainly a queer fellow. I ask you to get the original from New York. The lawyer thinks he will be able to clear him. If he could only get it, he would write once again, if it is not in your possession. "An act of kindness is greater than mere charity."¹⁴ I really pity the poor fellow, and I have offered to let him remain here with me in my house. I would give him food and lodging free. But he doesn't want it. Instead, he uses up the money he earned while he was in my employ.

As regards the Jews who come to you, please send me the man you think will be [best] for me. If I can come to terms with my man and if he likes it, I shall at all times do the reasonable thing. And if he wants to try it out for a few weeks [to see] whether he likes it or not, I shall give him the choice later [of staying on or leaving]. As far as wages are concerned, the . . . must not begin too high because he is new in business in these regions. You will explain that as well as other matters to him yourself.

Turn over for good [news]

¹² Otherwise unknown.

¹³ i. e. "I want to be fair to him," or "I ought to give him the benefit of the doubt."

¹⁴ *Succah*, xlix.

However, I still have a Gentile [clerk] from this town in my house. He is a wealthy fellow worth more than I,—probably as much as £ 2000 more. He is a son of Isaac Le Van's.¹⁵ He is with me on trial in order that he might learn the business. I can have him for nothing for years. He is a good Gentile. I have not yet made any agreement with him; he is here only on trial both on his part and mine. Therefore, if the Jew comes here, I shall see what there is to be done. Perhaps I may keep the Gentile. And if the Jew shows ability in business, I shall give him a store on half-profits (if I think he will do). At any rate, he can come here; he will not lose anything thereby. And perhaps, later, his brother can go into business in this town, because there is no tobacconist here, and the tobacco is sent from Lancaster here and to Philadelphia. So, if he understands this [business], he can get it cheaper here than if it comes from another place.

If you still have deer's leather breeches, will you send me a half-dozen, but with a flap in front and not with a slit and buttons. The farmers here do not like it that way . . . You will pick out the best for me, for I have seen some pairs at your place that would be [of] too poor [a quality] to sell here. I will pay you cash when I go to town (God be willing), and even more, but not too much.

I want to inform you that I am still under the doctor's care (may you be spared such trouble!), but thank God, I am well at heart. It is rheumatism. I must be patient until it improves. I have tried many things, but nothing helps. It must be [the result of] a very bad cold. Otherwise there is little news. From me, your friend,

MEYER BEN JOSEPH.

At present there are two carriages [stationed] in this town. If you want to send merchandise hither by this person, you can do so. And the Jew can come here in the best [manner] by carriage, too, for a trifle.

Adieu. Farewell.

¹⁵ Isaac Le Van, one of the five sons of Daniel Le Van, Huguenot refugee.

NACHMAN BEN MOSHE, READING, TO MICHAEL GRATZ,
PHILADELPHIA. MONDAY, 29.TH OF MENACHEM AB,
5524. [AUGUST 27, 1764.]

פה רעדינק יום ב' בט מנחם תקכ"ד

שלום רב לאהובי אדוני ידידי האלוף והקצין הבח' וי"א בש"ת כהרר וחיאל נ"י

אקוה שיגיע זה אליו במעמד הטוב ובוה באתי להודיע דו אתמול כתב האב ביקומן מן נייא
כ' אברהם סגל מן דאטא די' הנל וואו ביאי ער מיר מעלד דיא נאט לאורדר מבוי"ז
ביצאלט האט, צווייפל ניש אז מכ"ז אדוניז דאפון ווערט בעקומין האבן, עתה
בקשתי מאדוני שישלח לי המשכון הנמצא בידו ממני, דאנקי פיל מאל על כל הטוב
מעמו גיבוסן, ווען אים ווידר דינן זעלט קענין אין אויבניגה זאכן, יצוה עלי חסדו
לילה כיום יאיר לי, ותו לא יותר רק חיים ושלום וח' יתן לך ברכה ושלום
עד עולם ויכתבך בספר חיים טובים ובספרי דפרנסי ומזוני כ"ד הק' נחמן בן ר' משה נ"י

אחיו הקצין שי' עם זוגתו ז"פ צו גריסן ווינש זיא כתיבה וחתומה טובה
לאלתר לחיים טובים

הקצין כ"ה מאיר עם זוגתו תי' ג"פ

TRANSLATION.

I hope this reaches you in good health. I wish to inform you that I received a letter yesterday from Abraham Segal [Levy?] from New York, dated the tenth of this month, wherein he notifies me that he has paid the note to your order. I have no doubt that you have received notification of that fact. I therefore request you to return the security which I gave you. I thank you for all your kindness toward me. If I can serve you again in any matter, please command me "and the night shall be as light as the day unto me." Nothing more, but health and peace. And may the Lord send you His blessing and His peace for ever. And may He inscribe you in the book of good life and in the books of prosperity and plenty. Thus says

NACHMAN BEN MOSHE.

Greetings to your brother and his wife. Best wishes for a happy new year.

Greetings also from Meyer and his wife.

[MEYER JOSEPHSON, READING, TO MICHAEL GRATZ?,
PHILADELPHIA] UNDATED AND UNSIGNED.

בוו הרגע איזט מאַרטן קאַשד ביא מיר גוועזן אונט מיר גזאגט ווען דא איין
האגזעד לאָף צוקער געבן קענשט פר מ"ו . . . א' רביעי זאגה 15½
ווייל ער חילק מיט מיר האבן,, האגזעד פון לערך ג' מאות ליטרות או עטוואש יוטר
וויא עש זיך צום בעשטן גלעגן איזט,, אונט דש מעות וואלן מיר דיר צאלן אין
ב' חדשים או מקדם ווען עש מאכן קענן,, ווען דא עש טוהן קענשט
ווערשט מיר מיט דיזע גלעגנהייט תשובה מעלדן,, דען קענן עש בכאן קויפן פר
מ"ז כל ליט"ת,, מאחר ששמעתי אלש הב"ח כ' נחמן בכאן זולטה א קישט מיט כשר
פורטוגיעז קעז בעקומן האבן מאחו מק"ק צערנאם אלזו איזט בקשתי אין רודאלף
באנירו שיקן דען ווייל ארדיר געבן מיט עגלות וועלכש מכאן קומט אים
מיט צו ברענגן,, וואש הוצאות אויף זיין זולטה ווייל ע"י ערשטה
גלעגנהייט אצלכם שיקן,, האב פר נימן אלש קרוב ליפמאן שניידר זיא האבן זאל
תמו' לי' אלש ניקש[ד] פון מודיע איזט לכאן

[On the reverse, in English:]

Enquire after the cheese belonging to Nathan Levy. Was told of
it by Levy Marks who knows all about it; also by the captain
[of the ship] by which it came.

TRANSLATION.

This very moment Martin Kast came in and said that if you could
let him have a hogshead of loaf sugar for fifteen and one quarter,
that is 15½ pounds, he would share it with me—a hogshead of about
three hundred lbs. or more, as will be most convenient. We shall
pay you in two months or sooner, if we can. If you can do so, will
you reply by the present opportunity, for we can buy it here for
16 pounds.

Since I have heard that the young man Nachman of this place
was to have received a box of kosher Portuguese cheese from his
brother in Surinam, I ask you to send it to Rudolph Banners. I
will then give an order for it to be brought here with the wagons
which leave from here. Whatever the expenses will be, I shall remit
at the earliest opportunity. I have heard that my relative Lippman
Schneider has it. I am surprised that he has not notified us here
about it.

MEYER JOSEPHSON, READING, TO BARNARD AND
MICHAEL GRATZ, PHILADELPHIA. SUNDAY, 15.TH
OF TAMMUZ, 5527. [JULY 12, 1767.]

ב"ה פה רעדין יום א' ט"ו תמוז תקכ"ז לפ"ק

שלום לאה' אדוני חביבי האלוף והקצין כ' בער יצ"ו
ולאחו הבח' כ' יחיאל יצ"ו וכאל"ש

איברשיקה חיר ביא א' פאק מיט סחורות פר האלוף והקצין ר' מאיר הארט
מן אישטוין ווילכשט גהאנדלט האב מיט אים אויף אינדיגאה, וועלכש
איר גמיינט האבט אלש קיין פראנצז אינדיגאה איזט, די פארבירז
בכאן האבן עש פראבירט דש פראנצז אינדיגאה איזט,
וגם בן מודיע אלש ב"ה לע"ע כל יום בעסיר ווער פון מיין רומיטעז
דחינו מוז כל יום ויום אין שיעהר פארן וויא איין רעכטר קצן האב
איין שיעהר געקופט פר ו' ליטר' ו' שילג' [דש?] פון פ"ו כ' בערנאט
שעקובז פן היידילבערג, דש האט מיר יותר גהאלפן וויא הכל
דאקטוירס דש גברוכט האב, אקוה אי"ה תכיף מיד נאך
אגוסט קארט לפיעלעדעלפיע צו קומן וויא איין רעכט אמבאסידאהר
פון די שלעכטה צייטן מיט דיא שיעהר ווילן נאך ניט קומפאביל
בין צו רייטן כבראשונה, וגם איבר שיקה חיר ביא א' כתב וועלכש
האב מקבל גוועזן מן קופפיר אין ענגלאנד וועלכש מיר מעלדט
דש מיר צוהן וויל, ווען קענטה דער זונדר זיין ביחה ל' ווילן
נאך קיין מאהל דיא כבד גהאט האב בכאן אין מדינה אום געצועט צו זיין
אלוויא ווען מכ"ת אז מישטער בוש דיא מרתה טוהן וואלט אום אים
צו אפרירען איך וויל לע"ע צאלן וואש יותר אלש ב' מאות ליטרות
חייב בין אונט דיא ב' מאות וויל צאלן אן אחד שנה או שנה וחצי
וויא בעשט מיט אים אקורדירן קאן, אין ב' כתבים די סומא צו
מאכן כל אחד על ו' או ט' חדשים צו צאלן ואם לאו ווען ניט צו פירדן איזט
וואלטה גערן האבן דש מיר בכאן צוהעט, דיא כבוד אין מקום לא מבקש
וד". מוז אים אויש מעות האלטן וויא לנג אלש קאן דש איזט לכל הפחות
ב' שנים קען מיר לע"ע זונשטן ניט העלפן ווילן זמן שפל איזט בכאן מיט מו"מ
אונט יותר סוחרים צאלן מוז כידוע למר, אונט ווען ער ניט זאלטה
אזויא לנג אין פילעדעלפיע בלייבן אלש שם קום ווען דארסיוז בכאן שיקן
וויל, קאן מיט מיר זעמלן וויל אים די כתבים געבן וגם דש מעות
הנ"ל וגם וויל אים זיין הוצאות צאלן, האב זיין כתב יום ו' העבור מקבל גוועזן
מן כ' יונא זונשטן העטי שוין לענגש גשריבן, זונשטן חדשים מעוטים
ממנו חביבו חק' מאיר בן כהר יוסף זל מיעוור
וגם בקשתי מאדוני אויב מיר מודיע זיין קענטה מן ק"ק ביא יארק אויב אדאלפוז
וואש פר נומן האט מן פלונית מן צאפיו וואס פון איר בקומן איזט, וואש גמעלדט

האב למכ"ת איזט שקרה שקרים איזט בדאכט גווארדן מיט מיסמערו קאהן
וגם השפיל' דיא מאַחט וועלכש בכאן גוועזן איזט,

[In margin:]

ווערט תכף ר' מאיר הארט דש פאק סחורות שיקן מיט ערשט
גלעגנהייט וויילן עש גברויכט

TRANSLATION.

I send herewith for the rich and respected Meyer Hart of Easton¹⁶ a package of merchandise which I traded with him for the indigo which you had thought was not French indigo. The dyers here have tested it and found it to be genuine French indigo.

I also want to inform you that my rheumatism is getting better every day (thank God). That is, I must ride about in a chair every day like a real rich man. I bought a chair for £ 6, 7 shillings from Bernat Jacobs of Heidelberg. It has helped me more than all the doctors I have consulted. Immediately after the August court, I hope (with God's help) to proceed to Philadelphia in the chair, like a real ambassador of hard times, since I am not yet able to ride as before.

I also transmit herewith a letter which I received from Cooper in England in which he says that he will sue me. If I could only avoid that, I should be very much pleased, for I have never yet had the honor of being sued in this country. Therefore, if you or Mr. Bush would take the trouble of offering [the following arrangement, I shall be very happy]. I would pay at once what I owe him above the £ 200, and pay up the £ 200 within a year or a year-and-a-half on the best terms I shall be able to make with him, in two notes for the entire sum, each one for six or nine months. If not, i. e., if he is not satisfied, I should like to have him sue me here. I am not looking for the honor of being sued in the other town [Philadelphia]. "A word to the wise . . ." I have to keep him out of money as long as I can, that is at least for two years. I cannot help myself in any other way at present because times are so bad and I must make my payments to other merchants, as you gentlemen well know. If he does not stay on in Philadelphia until I get there, he might send Darceys here to settle with me. I shall give him the notes and the money referred to above and pay his expenses. I received his letter of June 20, last Friday; otherwise I should have written to him long ago. There is no other news.

From me, your friend,

MEYER BEN JOSEPH

¹⁶ Meyer Hart (de Shira), one of the founders of Easton, Pa. "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. VI, p. 240.

Will you please inform me *via* New York whether Adolphus has learned anything from that person as to what has become of Sophie. What I told you [about her] is all false. It was all fabricated by Mistress Cohen and that contemptible maid who was here.

[In margin:]

Please send the package of merchandise off to Meyer Hart at once, at the first opportunity, because he needs it.

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JOSEPH SIMON, LANCASTER, TO MICHAEL AND BARNARD GRATZ, PHILADELPHIA. POSTSCRIPT IN ENGLISH BY LEVY ANDREW LEVY. SUNDAY, 10.TH OF KISLEV, 5532. [NOVEMBER 17, 1771.]

פה לענקאסטר היום א' יום י' לחודש כסלו תקל"ב לפ"ק

שלום לאה' בני ואחיו אהלופים וקצינים פ"ו כ"ש כמר יחיאל ובארניט גרעץ יצ"ו
ר"ד ו"א ובאלש

קאן גיט נאך לאזן אום אייד לויט נאך ריכט צו געבן וואס זיך פארגיפאלן האט דיא
פראגאנינה דאנדרשטאג מיט אונש בכך — אין די אובינט אום טרענט זעקס אויר איז
בכך גיקומן איינער מיט דיא אין ליגענדיגה ברוף אונ' האט זיך אויז גיגעבן פון מוין קאזין צו
לעווי אונ' איז יענטיל גיקלייד גיוועזן — מיט שטיוול אונ' שפארז אונ' ער איז צו פערד געק
מיט נאך איינס בייא זיך גאר זויבר גיקלייד וועס ער גיהייסן האט מאכטער בעלי — ער האט
גיואגט ער ווער איין לאיער — זויא האט לעווי צו אים גיואגט ער זאל זיין פערד אויף טאן
שלויד אונ' זויא איז ער ווידר גיקומן צו לעווי זויא האבן מיר אים רעכט בוזהען בייא עש
ליכט זויא האבן מיר ביפונדן דש ער פראוויא וואכן איז איר גיוועזן אונ' איז גיקלייד
גיוועזן מיט איין ווערשיני שאט אונ' לעגיסן אונ' מאקסין אן אונ' לאין האט אים עטוואש
גיגעבן גלייך מיסטער מאירש — זוי האבן מיר אונש פרוואנדרט אום אים צו זעהן אין זויא
היפש קליידיג — זוא האט ער דיא אין ליגענד ברוף איבר גיגעבן צו לעווי זויא האבן
מיר אים גיעקסאמנירט אונ' אים גיפראגט וואו ער אן דיא היפש קליידר אונ' פערט
איז צו גיקומן זויא האט ער צו אונש גיואגט דש מייסטער עברעמש אין פילדעלפויא האט אים
דיא ראק אונ' קאמוזאל גיגעבן — אונ מייסטער עברעם פרענקס האט אים גילענט זיין
קעפ קאט אונ שטיוול אונ שפארז אונ איינער אין פילדעלפויא גינאמט לאזת
בוטשיר זון האט אים דיא הוט אונ' פארוק העמד אונ' שטרימפ גיגעבן — אונ' וויא ער
פון צו פארן היר וואר האט ער זיין אייגענה האר גיטראגין ער זאגט ער איז איין
בארביר ביי טרעט — ע"ש אונ' עברעם פרענקס איז ערב פון עש פערט וואו ער
אויף גיריטן האט ער האט עש גיהיירט פראוויא שולנג דיא טאג — אונ'
— איינער אין פילדעלפויא וואלף שמש זון האט אים געלט גיגעבן פון זיין הוצהות —
ער האט גיואגט דש ער אויף גיצאגין גיווארן איז מיט לעווי בייא איין גאס אין
אקספארט אונ זיין אונקל איז גיהייראט מיט לעווי זיין מוטר אונ' ער איז איין

זון פון חיים גאשט אונ' האט איין פרא אונ' צוויי קינדער אין ענגלאנד—וויא מיר
 אויזגיפונדן האבן דש ער איין קוממוקט וואר זויא האב איך צו אים גיזאגט דש ער
 זאל זיך פארט מאכן דיא זעלביגה אבינט אונ' איך האב צו אים ניקס צו זאגן אונ'
 בין פארט נאך מיין הויז גיגאנגן אונטער דיא ווייל דש איך בין א אים גיגאנגן
 האט ער ביגונן צו וויינן פר לעווי אונ' לאין זויא האבין זיא אים עשוואס
 גיגעבין נר איך האב אים קיין פענס גיגעבן איך בין רעכט פרויא גיוועזן דש
 איך אים ניקס גיגעבין האב — דער נאך האב איך אן שלויך לאזן ווישן וואש
 פעגיל עש ווארן אונ' ער זאל זיך אין אכט נעמן פר זיא אונ' זאל זיא נישט ארביירן
 דיא נאכט נר שלויך האט מיין אדווייז נישט גינומן אונ' האט זיא לאזן ארביירן דיא
 נאכט נר זיא האבן אים ביצאלט פר זיין גוד־קייט אונ' האבין אים ביצאלט
 מיט פאלש גאלד גלויך איר ווערט גיפינדן אין דיא בריף — זויא דש איר לויט
 אויף אייער גארט זאלט זיין אונ' זעלט מיט זעלכי פעגיל טאן גלויך זיא ווערט זיין ווען
 זיא אין פילאדעלפויא קומן אויך גלויב דש דער אנדרר דער בייא אים וואר וועס ער
 גיהייסן האט מייסטער בעלי איז ג"כ איין יחודא — איך בין רעכט צארניג איכר
 דעם האלטער נאר פון איין חותם שטעכיר דש ער זעלכי פעגיל איין בריף מיט גיגעבין
 האט — ער האט גודה פריינט גינג אין פילאדעלפויא דיא אים גיאסטיירט
 האבין פון זיינש גלויכין מיט קלוידר געלט אונ' פערט ווארום זיא אים נישט בייא
 זיך גיהאלטן ווארום גלויך בייא גלויך שיקט זיך צו זאמן אשר על כן ווען זיא ווירד
 זאלכע געשט ביקומן זויא זאלן זיא דיא זעלביגה בייא זיך האלטן אונ' זאלן זיך
 משמית זיין מיט זעלכע פעגיל ער האט אונש גיזאגט דש זיא בייא רעדן נאך פילאדעלפוי
 וועלן גין — וואו מיט בשליסן אונ' וויגשן אויך לויט ביחדו גיזונדהייט פון מיר אייער פריינד
 יוסף בן שימעון יצ"ו

פרזוכט פריינטליך ווען איר זעלט קענן מאכן דש שלויך זיין ביצאלינג פון דיא
 פעגיל זעלט ביקומן זעלט מיר ליב זיין שלויך האט עש גינומן פאר איין פערטיל
 אויף איין מייאדאר זיא זיין פרייטאג פרויא אום פינף אויר פארט גיגאנגן

[Postscript in English:]

I am very Angry with the Ingraver for recommending a Transport to me, and a good for nothing Rascall, I Never shall Countenance such sort, were it even a Brother, tho I believe it all false his being a Cousin, I knew him not, very few of that sort reform, as proof the behaviour to Slough, he had neither Bread nor Watter from me, yet his Deceitfull Lammentation flung me of 10/6, I have taken a Resolution that I will hereafter take no more notice of Straglers, unless they Can produce a Letter of Recommendation—

I am gentlem. Yr. O[bedient] S[ervant]

L. ANDREW LEVY

TRANSLATION.

I cannot refrain from giving you an account of what happened here last Thursday.

At about six o'clock in the evening a man came here with the enclosed letter and described himself as a cousin of Levy's.¹⁷ He was respectably dressed, with boots and spurs, and he was mounted on a horse. He was accompanied by another man, very neatly dressed, whom he referred to as Master Bailey. He said that he was a lawyer; so Levy told him to put up his horse at Slough's. When he returned to Levy's, we examined him closely in the light and found that he had been here two weeks ago. At that time he was dressed in a Ferginny shirt with leggings and moccasins, and Lyon and Master Myers had given him something. We were therefore surprised to see him in such fine array. He then gave Levy the enclosed letter. We thereupon questioned him as to how he had come by the fine clothes and the horse. He told us that Master Abrams in Philadelphia had given him the coat and the camisole, and that Master Abraham Franks had lent him the cape, coat, boots, and spurs, and that a certain man in Philadelphia called Lazar (the Butcher's son) had given him his hat, wig, shirt, and stockings. The last time he was here he wore his own hair. He said he was a barber by trade.—I have forgotten [to say that] Abraham Franks is surety for the horse he was riding. He had hired it for two shillings a day.—A certain man in Philadelphia, the son of Wolf the *shamash*, had given him money for his expenses. He told us that he had been brought up with Levy in the same street in Oxford, that his uncle was married to Levy's mother, that he was the son of Chayim Gast, and that he had a wife and two children in England. When we found out that he had been a convict, I told him to clear out the same evening, and I had nothing more to say to him. Then I went home.

Meanwhile, after I had left, he began to weep before Levy and Lyon, and so they gave him something. (But I did not give him a penny, and I was very glad that I had not given him anything.) Afterwards I let Slough know what birds these two were, and I advised him to beware of them and not keep them over night. But Slough did not take my advice; he let them stay over. Whereupon they certainly did repay him for his kindness . . . they paid him with counterfeit money, of the same kind as you will find enclosed in this letter. Therefore you people ought to be on your guard and treat such birds as they deserve when they turn up in Philadelphia. I believe that the other fellow who was with him, whom he addressed as Master Bailey is also a Jew.

I am very angry at the behavior of the engraver for giving such birds a letter. He had friends enough in Philadelphia who helped

¹⁷ Levy Andrew Levy, son-in-law of Joseph Simon.

him with clothes, money, and a horse. Why did they not keep him with them? Why? Because like begets like. Therefore, if they ever get such guests again, let them keep them there. Let them enjoy themselves with such birds. He told us that they would go to Philadelphia by way of Reading.

With which we close and wish you both health. From me, your friend,

JOSEPH BEN SIMEON

Please try to get Slough's money for him from these birds. If you can get it, I shall be happy. Slough took it for a horse,—a moidore. They left Friday morning at five o'clock.

The letters reproduced above represent a dialect of Yiddish current in Western Germany during the eighteenth century, particularly in the region near the Dutch border. A person acquainted with more recent Yiddish notices at once the total absence of Slavic elements in this correspondence, and the presence, on the other hand, of a relatively large number of French and German words. This phenomenon is in complete agreement with the known facts concerning the lives of the writers of these letters before their coming to America. Thus, for example, Meyer Josephson appears to have come, as was pointed out above, from the district of Jevr in the Province of Oldenburg, near East Firesland; Joseph Simon had lived in the Low Countries for some time; while Barnard Gratz, though a native of Austrian Silesia had lived in England before coming to America and had been in business correspondence with Dutch and German Jews. From other sources, too, we learn that a great many of the early Jewish settlers of Pennsylvania and the neighboring Colonies were of Dutch or German origin.¹⁸

The vocabulary of these letters bears out this point. Josephson uses the word *אינשליך*, from the Dutch *inslag*, for "provisions," and lapses into the dialect spelling—and probably pronunciation—*טרינקט* *drinkt*, for *טרינקט*. Simon writes

¹⁸ "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. IX, p. 588.

דאנדירשטאג, from the Dutch *Donderstag* for “Thursday,”
אום טרענט, from the Dutch *omtrent*, meaning “about,” and
spells גוט for גוד, etc.

The French and German loan words mentioned above occur
in the letters of all four writers. Particularly interesting are
such verbs as:

אבלאשירן (“oblige”), אימפלאגירן (“supply”), אמורירן
 (“insure”), אקורדירן (“come to an agreement”), ארברין
 (“shelter”), אריווירן (“arrive”), מנקיהרן (“lack”),
עסטימירן (“esteem”), פרעדענדירן (“demand”), קונטנטירן
 (“satisfy”);

such nouns as:

אקאזיאהן (“occasion”), אקורדט (“agreement”),
באלר (Fr. *valeur*), פארטיל (“profit”), צארטומענטן
 (Fr. *sortiments*);

and such adjectives as: קומפאביל (קומפאוויל), רעזונאבל

It will be noticed that most of these words are business terms.
In the Eastern Yiddish dialect of about the same period the
place of these words was frequently taken by Hebrew and
Aramaic terms, the language of the Talmud being drawn
upon for that purpose.

The large number of English loan words occurring in these
letters call for special comment. They illustrate a phenome-
non characteristic of contemporary American Yiddish. The
following is a partial list of English nouns occurring in these
letters:

אגרימענד (“agreement”), אדווייז (“advice”), אפפיו
 (“office”), באקציו (“boxes”), בוטמינו (“buttons”),
בונדל (“bundle”), בלענקיטז (“blankets”), בריטשיז
 (“breeches”), גרן שוריא (“grand jury”), האנועד
 (“hogshead”), וואטש-טשענו (“watch-chains”), טריאל
 (“trial”), ליאר (“lawyer”), לעגיסן (“leggings”),
מאקסין (“moccasin”), ניגר (“nigger”), פריא האלדיר

“freeholder”) , [פלאקען-זיד (“flaxseed”), צופרים קאהרט
 (“supreme court”), קומוויקט (“convict”), ריט (“writ”),
 שערף (“sheriff”), שטאהר (“store”).

The prepositions דען (“than”) and עקצעפט (“except”) appear to be used in the English sense. A number of verbs have been more or less yiddishized:

דעמישט (“damaged”), גיהיירט (“hired”), גטרייט
 (“tried”), געצועט (“sued”), גצומינז ווערדן
 (“to be served with a summons”), צו קליארן
 (“to clear”), לאדשן (“to lodge”).

A few idiomatic expressions have been taken over bodily:

איין בארכיר ביא טרעט “a barber *by trade*”, ער איז ביא
 מיר אויף טריאל “he is with me *on trial*”, איר לייט אויפף
 אייער גארט זאלט זיין “you people ought to *be on your*
guard”
 דיא פויארן בכאן גלייכן עש ניט “the farmers hereabout *don't*
like it”

Equally interesting is the presence of a number of Hebrew expressions. With the exception of Gratz's unknown correspondent in No. 8, not one of the writers of these letters seems to have been a Hebrew scholar, yet Hebrew words and phrases, often incorrectly spelled, come regularly to their minds. Among the expressions that appear frequently are:

בית, סוס, עגלה, ספינה, סחורה, חייב, פטור, רווחים, הזיקות,
 משפט, קנס, כחנם, ביחד, מעות, שכירות, טרחה, ברירה, מקום,
 מדינה, חילק, סוף, כבראשנה, מצד, לגמרי, בזו הרגע, בקרב ימים,
 הכל הבלים, הוצאות הדרך, יומם ולילה, כידוע למר, שוה פרומה,
 שליח מיוחד, לאחר זאת, לא עליכם, ועל כלם, עקר שכחתי, עוד
 פעם, ניחה לי, תימי לי.

and the Yiddish phrases:

בדיעה האבן, מליץ זיין, ערוב זיין, תפוס זיין, תשובה געבן,
 פליטה גגאנגן, משולמן.

The following hybrid comparisons occur:

ביוקרר (“dearer”), בזולר (“cheaper”).

The common abbreviations are :

אי"א, אר"ה, ב"ה, ב"י, בעה"ב, גי"פ, גי"ה, יו"כ, לע"ע, למוכ"ת
מו"מ, ע"ש, ק"ק.

Mispelled words and phrases abound in the correspondence of Meyer Josephson : מרכה, חטיכה, מודא, לא אליכם, בסורה
טובה, גדול מהורין [עם הארץ]

Below are noted some of the phonetic and orthographic peculiarities of these letters, particularly those which show a marked divergence from contemporary Yiddish usage.

1. The absence of the vowel *א* or *א* in some monosyllabic and dissyllabic words : פר, דש, מן

2. The presence of a "silent" *א* at the end of certain words : ביא, דוא, נוא, זיא, פריא, אלוויא

3. The absence of the vowel *ע* in many words, particularly in the prefix גע of the past participle : גנאנן, גגעבן, גואנט,

4. The use of the letter *י* for the modern *ע* (to represent the "obscure vowel" *פ*) in such words as : אלו, האבי, זאלכי, היפשי, זעלטי, דאנקי.

5. The use of *ה* for *ע* at the end of words : ביידה, גומה, דיוה, ערשמה, שלעכמה

6. The occasional use of the vowel *י* for the modern spelling *א* as in בורגן for באַרגן. (Note also משורתיים for משרתיים.)

7. In compound nouns or verbs of which the first element is a preposition, the prefix is invariably regarded as a separate word : אן לנגט, פר לאזן, איבר נומן, פר קעלטונג

8. Words ending in *פ* or *פ* are usually spelled with a double *פ* or *פ* : אויפפ, שאפפ, אפפ הוילן

9. The obsolete spelling אלש occurs regularly for אז.

10. The obsolescent spelling ש for ס is quite common :

דש, וואש, קענשט, מישמיר

11. Note should also be taken of Meyerson's spelling ש for דזש or טש : thus, שוריא for "jury", שמעהטש for "stage", שיעהר for "[sedan-]chair". He also frequently uses צ and ז for צופרים for

“supreme”, צואין for “to sue”, פיו for פים, אפפיו for “office”, אויו for אוים.

12. Of the various grammatical peculiarities, the most important is the frequent omission of the personal pronoun (ער, דו, איך, etc.). This omission is quite common in older documents. Occasionally also the prefix —גע— of the past participle is suppressed: האב אים תשובה געבן.

For a detailed study of the language of these letters the reader is referred to A. Landau, *Die Sprache der Memoiren Glückels von Hameln*, Hamburg, 1901. Glückel came from the same region of Germany as most of the writers of these letters, and she died some forty-odd years before the date of the earliest of the letters. Even a cursory reading of a few pages of the original text of Glückel's Memoirs shows a marked similarity in style and orthography.

A HAYM SALOMON LETTER TO RABBI DAVID
TEVELE SCHIFF, LONDON, 1784.

By HYMAN B. GRINSTEIN, A.M.

The archives of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, contain the following interesting letter from Haym Salomon to Rabbi David Tevele Schiff of London, dated the 2nd of Elul, 1784:

קאפי מן ז' אלול

ב"ה פילאדעלפיא בל"ח אלול תקמ"ד.
ידיד בכל דרכי' משכיל—וכאשר ירום השכל יגבר החכמה, חכמתו בחוץ
תרונה, ה"ה אדמ"ו הרב המה"ג כבוד שמו מפאריס, תהילתו
בקהל ישרון כמה"ר דוד טעבלי נ"י לנצח.

גי"ה [גלילת ידו הטהורה] מן ר"ח כסלו העבר, וכו"ה [וכח והרשאה]
והג"ע [והגבית עדות] מן ה'ורש הר"ר יעקב, הגיע לידי לנכון—ולא
נחתתי [נחתתי] אלא שקדתי עד אשר דברתי את כל הדבריו האלה על
לב הק' ר' יעקב כ"ץ ובראותו דברי הרב נ"י נתקדר דעתו ואמר לי
כזה הדברים (איהר הבט ניכט ניטיג צו משפט צו גיהן, איך וויל מיינה
ביכר פון דיא צייט דש בשותפת עם ר' אפרים ז"ל וואר רעווידירן
לאזין, ווא פון איהר איינה קונטא קוראנט בקומן זאלט, אונד וואס
ל'ורש ר' אפרים [ר' יעקב] קומן ווירט, ווירדע אן אייך צאהל'ן, רק
ביטי מיר זמן צו לאסין) ואמת הדבר חשבן השותפת כאשר נודע
לא"ד מ"ו הרב נ"י צריך עיון וזמן, ובכל זאת כמעט בכל יום פניתי
מכל עסקי אשר רבי' המה, כדי למלה [למלא] רצון אדמ"ו הרב נ"י
להוצי על [להוציא אל] הפועל חשבן הנ"ל ובוה תלוי' הדבר, ובטוח
אני שיהי' לטובת ה'ורש כי יעקב איש תם.

ואודות א"א שי' בגין המלכבושים ותושב הקהלה, ואחות קבר, גם
מזה אל תנח ידי, וכתבתי להקצין האדיר המפורסם כמהו' גומפל וו"ב
[וואלפענביטל] לשלוח לא"ד אבי שי' חמישי' אדומי' להנ"ל, כאשר
נרשם בכתב א"א שי' והאל ברחמי' ישלם לא"ד מ"ו הרב נ"י גמולו
הטוב אשר גמל עם אבותי ועמדי ובגין דא יכתבהו ה' בספר חיים
טובי' ויאריך ימי' על ממלכתו וכל הנלווים לו.

[כעתירת?] עבדו חיים בן כהרר שלמה יצ"ו.

בזו הרגע דברתי עם הק' ר' יעקב כ"ץ והבטיח לי בבטחה גמורה
לגמור הדבר לטובת ה'ורש בכי טוב ובזמן מועט אי"ה.
ואף גם זאת בקשתי מא"ד מ"ו הרב נ"י שימחול עכ"ה אינד דיא
גאלדני קעט ווא מיט אמי תי' איינה מתנה מאכזי שידבר בגין זאת

לאמ' תי' דז דש איזט איינה מתנה על מנת להחזיר, דש זיא קיין כח זאל הבן צו פרקויפין, אונד דז אללי מאהל זאל זארג דא פר גטראגין ווערדין דז דער יורש ניכט פר קויפין זאל קענין.

גם באתי להודיע לא"ד מ"ו הרב נ"י שבא לגמר טוב אודת הירושה שבועה [שבועה] העברה, דהיינו וויר הבן אונז בוחר גוועזין שני אנשים, באם למשפט העמי קומן לאזין העט ימים ושני' קענין אן שטיהן ובפרט ר' יעקב הנ"ל איזט קצין ומשפטים בל ידעום, זוא הבי די זאך זעהר בחכמה גמאכט וויר הבן איין יעדר ביד שליש איין ח"כ [חלף כתב] מן ד' אלפי' אדומים גליגט, דז וויר וואללין צו פרידין זיין וואש די שני אנשים אויז מאכין זוא האט זיך הקצין ר' יעקב כ"ץ הנ"ל הקצין שמשון בר נתן גנומן, אונד איך הבי גנומן הקצין התורני המושלם כ"ה יוסף בן התר' המפורסם כמה"ל וואלף קארפליס מפרג, ופסק דינם היה ר' יעקב כ"ץ מוז צאהלין להיורש ח' מאות אדומים דהיינו

400 Ducaten March 2nd 1785

400 D^o Sep^r 2nd 1785

פון דיזה ג' מאות אדומים מוז איין ח"כ בצאהלט ווערדין לענגלאנד וואש ר' אפרים ז"ל שמה חייב איזט אונד לכאן גשיקט ווארדין מן ג' מאות אדומים מיט הין ווירט להיורש קומן אומגפעהר ה' מאות אדומים, ועל דא אסמוך באם אדמ"ו הרב נ"י מעכטי וואש להיורש פר שיסן וואללין איך ווערדי זעהן מכיסי קורם זמן הנ"ל די בצאהלונג צו מאכין.

[Verso]

הכתב הלזה ראו עיני ומכיר אני את הכותב שהוא הכח המושלם כה"ר יוסף במוהר"ר וואלף קרפלס מפרגא שהוא עכשיו בק' פילא-דעפיא במדינת אמעריקא ועל ידו נעשה כל המבואר בכתבא דנא בחי' המנוח הקצין ונדיב מאד ר' חיים ז"ל מק' ליסא אשר התי' נכרת היטב להקצין המפורסם פו"מ כהר"ר גומפיל וו"ב [וואלפענביטל] מכאן והנה אמת נכון הדבר בלי ספק דההוא גברא קאזיל לדבר מצוה רבה להחיות נפשות רבות ולפרנסם כי דלו מאד ועיניהם נשואות לממון זה שנפל לאיש. זה בירושה. אמנם אורחה רחיקא במדינת הים וצריך סער לתומכו ולסעדרו ולהטיב צעדו לעבור ארחות ימים דרך אניות כי הוא בא בדלות ובעניות לכן המצוה מוטלת על כל אחינו ב"י הרואים כתבא דנא לעזור ולהושיע את כהר"ר יעקב בן כהר"ר אברהם מק' ליסא מיכל [?] בכל דבר שיוכל להושיע הן בממון הן בעצה נכונה וטובה לנחותו במעגלי צדק על מי נבואות עד בואו אל מחוז חפצו ושם ימצא מבקשי אמת רודפי צדק אשר יעזרוהו לרשת את שלו ככתוב בשטרא דנא כסף [?] ומיטב. אשרי אדם שומע לדברי אלה לעשות חסד ואמת ליעקב הנה שכרו אתנו] ופעולתו לפנינו בזה ובבא לו ולזרעו לדורות עולם. הכותב המדבר בעדקה היום יום ב' מ"ו לעומר התנופה לפ"ק הק' שאול הלוי בק' אמשטרדם.

[Translation.]

Copy of the seventh day of Elul

Praise be the Lord, Philadelphia
the second day of Elul, 5544 [1784]

Oh friend who is enlightened in all his ways, whose knowledge equals his keenness; famous abroad for his learning; teacher, master and Rabbi; celebrated for his genius and wisdom, whose name is praised among the Jewish people everywhere—Rabbi David Tevele [Schiff], may his light shine on forever:

Your letter of the first of last Kislev, as well as the power of attorney and the testimony of the heir Reb Jacob, were duly received. I did not let the matter rest but hurried to communicate these things to Reb Jacob Cohen, Esquire. Upon seeing your letter he changed his mind and said to me as follows: "You need not go to court over this matter. I shall permit an examination of my books that pertain to the period of partnership with the deceased Reb Ephraim. From this you will be able to draw up a current account and I shall pay you what I owe the heir Reb Jacob. Please though allow me some time." In truth, as you well know, the accounts of this partnership need considerable examination. Almost every day I took leave of my business (which is quite extensive) in order to fulfill your command and speedily finish the matter. The hindrance is as I have stated; I am confident, however, that the entire matter will be settled in favor of the heir, as Reb Jacob is an honorable person.

I also attended to the matter of my father's clothes, the membership in the community and the burial plot. I have written to Gumpel WB [Wolfenbüttel], Esquire, to send my father fifty ducats for this purpose, as my father mentions in his letter. I pray that almighty God may reward you for the kindness that you have shown me and my father and in return for this may you and your family be inscribed in the book of life and may you minister to your people for many years to come,

Your servant,

HAIM the son of Reb Solomon

[Postscript]

I spoke to Reb Jacob Cohen a moment ago and he promised to arrange, in a very short time, the entire matter in the heir's favor. May it please God to be so.

May I also trouble you to speak to my mother, may she live long, concerning the gold chain which I gave her. I wish it to be under-

stood that this is a gift given on condition that it must be returned, so that she shall not be able to sell it. I desire also that vigilance be constantly exercised in this connection so that the heir as well shall be prevented from selling it.

[a later postscript]

I also wish to inform you that the entire matter of the inheritance was settled last week in the following manner: We chose two people as arbiters. (If we had gone to court the matter would have dragged on for many years; besides Reb Jacob is an honorable man and does not resort to litigation.) I arranged the matter very cleverly. Each of us deposited a check for four thousand ducats with a third person as a guarantee that we would accept the decision of the arbiters. Reb Jacob Cohen chose Samson the son of Nathan and I selected the learned Joseph the son of Wolf Carpeles of Prague. Their decision was that Reb Jacob Cohen should pay the heir eight hundred ducats as follows:

400 Ducats on March 2nd, 1785

400 Ducats on September 2nd, 1785.

Out of these eight hundred ducats we are to pay a draft for three hundred ducats which the deceased Reb Ephraim owed in England and which was sent here for collection. That would leave the heir about five hundred ducats. If you should desire to make an advance to the heir, I shall make payment from my own funds even before the above date.

[VERSO]

I have seen this letter and I know the writer, the perfect scholar Reb Joseph the son of Wolf Carpeles of Prague, who is now in the city of Philadelphia, in America. This letter was written in his hand while the late philanthropist Reb Haim of Lissa (whose signature is well known to Gumpel WB [Wolfenbüttel] of this city) was still alive. I attest to the fact that the bearer of this letter goes to make his claim to an inheritance that has fallen to him in order to sustain the lives of many people who have nothing to look forward to but to this estate. He must make a long journey overseas and he needs help, aid and guidance in crossing the ocean by boat. He is entirely destitute. It is, therefore, obligatory on all of our brethren of the house of Israel who see this letter to aid Reb Jacob the son of Abraham of Lissa in every respect, with funds as well as with advice to speed him on his journey until he reaches his goal. There he will undoubtedly find truthful and righteous people who will

help him secure that which he is to inherit, as is testified in this letter. Blessed is he who listens to these my words and renders kindness and truth to Jacob; his reward shall exist forever in this world and in the world to come, for himself and his descendants. Signed by me this day, Monday, the 46th day of the counting of the Omer, [5546 1786].

SAUL HALEVI [LOWENSTAMM] of the
community of Amsterdam.

This letter, sent by Haym Salomon to Rabbi David Tevele Schiff of London, is mainly concerned with an inheritance that is due to one Reb Jacob the son of Abraham of Lissa. As the note on top of the letter indicates, and as one can gather from the added postscripts, this is not the original letter sent to Rabbi Schiff. It is only a draft of the original which was made on the second day of Elul, with one postscript probably added the same day and the other on the seventh of Elul, when the original letter was dispatched to Rabbi Schiff. For some unexplained reason, probably as a means of identification, our draft was sent on to the heir at Lissa, who set out to travel to America to collect his inheritance. On his way he tarried at Amsterdam where Rabbi Saul Lowenstamm, the rabbi of the city, wrote a testimonial on the reverse side. How this letter reached the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, we are unable to say. The heir probably came to America, collected his claim, and remained here, leaving this copy among his personal effects.

There is no doubt whatsoever as to the authenticity of this letter. The signature, Haim the son of Solomon, compares quite favorably with the one on Haym Salomon's marriage certificate in the possession of the American Jewish Historical Society. In addition, the testimonial of Rabbi Lowenstamm, written in 1786, further identifies the signature by the statement that it is the hand of Haim the son of Solomon of Lissa who had died in the meantime and before the letter reached the rabbi at Amsterdam. Haym Salomon as is well known was born in Lissa and died at Philadelphia

in 1785.¹ Finally, Haim is said to be well known to Gumpel Wolfenbüttel of Amsterdam. References to a Gumpel of Amsterdam occur in Haym Salomon's letter book in the possession of the American Jewish Historical Society and in Aryeh Loeb Breslau's *Pene Aryeh*, where his full name is given in connection with Haym Salomon's.² From both sources it appears that Wolfenbüttel, a wealthy Dutch Jew, was Salomon's business representative in Holland. Incidentally we may remark that the name Salomon, assumed by the Philadelphia broker, is of course derived from the name of his father, Solomon. This was done by practically all of the early Ashkenazic Jews in America when confronted with the problem of coining a family name.

The letter was not written by Salomon. As Rabbi Lowenstamm relates, it was written by one Joseph the son of Wolf Carpeles of Prague. Salomon could read Hebrew but could not write the language. His letter-book reveals that in April, 1783 when the necessity arose of replying to a letter from his parents in Lissa, the first letter to come to him after the American revolutionary war, he was obliged to turn to Israel Myers of New York to reply for him. By the fall of 1784, the date of our letter, he had recourse to Carpeles and was no longer in need of Meyers' services. This places the arrival of Carpeles in America sometime during 1783 or 1784, after the cessation of hostilities. Indeed Carpeles is not mentioned in the list of members of the Mikve Israel synagogue of Philadelphia in 1782.³

Carpeles was probably one of the most learned men among the Jews of America at the end of the 18th century. In our letter he displays a knowledge of rabbinic Hebrew, though

¹ "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. x, p. 653.

² *Publications*, no. 33, p. 251; *Horeb*, vol. i, pp. 222-224.

³ "Dedication of the New Synagogue Mikveh Israel, Philadelphia 1909," pp. 11-12, an historical sketch by A. S. W. Rosenbach. His name however occurs on a later list. Morais, "The Jews of Philadelphia," pp. 15-16.

making an occasional error in spelling. Besides the laudatory phrases used by Rabbi Lowenstamm to describe his scholarship and learning, we know from another source of his knowledge of rabbinic law. We refer to an unpublished letter in the archives of the Mikve Israel synagogue in Philadelphia, which he wrote to the rabbis of Amsterdam and the Hague in 1785 in connection with a local problem, and in which he quotes sufficiently from rabbinic sources proving that he was well acquainted with Jewish lore. Whether Rabbi Lowenstamm knew Carpeles personally, as the phrase "and I know the writer" would indicate, is problematical. This may merely refer to the fact that he knew Carpeles as the writer of the Mikve Israel letter to him in 1785. We know definitely, then, that Carpeles was in Philadelphia in 1784 and in 1785. We fail however to find any trace of him thereafter.

In keeping with the custom of the time, the letter begins with the usual high-sounding compliments to Rabbi Schiff. Parts of the letter are written in Hebrew, others in Yiddish, or Judeo-German. It is interesting to note that in quoting directly a statement given by a person, Carpeles uses the Yiddish, indicating that Yiddish was used considerably in Philadelphia. He also uses the same medium in describing difficult business transactions which he probably was unable to render correctly into Hebrew.

Our letter contains both personal references to Haym Salomon as well as a lengthy account of the settlement of the inheritance. It appears that Rabbi Schiff had written to Salomon to collect the estate due to the heir at Lissa. A power of attorney from Reb Jacob,⁴ as well as testimony proving that he is the lawful heir, were sent on by the English rabbi to Salomon.

⁴At one place Carpeles calls the heir Reb Ephraim. This is undoubtedly an error. He copied the name of the deceased from the line immediately above.

The deceased is one by the name of Reb Ephraim. He was, according to Salomon's reply, a former business associate of Reb Jacob Cohen of Philadelphia. Who Reb Ephraim was we are unable to say. The only Jew living in Philadelphia at the time whose first name was Ephraim, was Ephraim Hart, but he must be eliminated as he died in 1827.⁵ Search among available records of interments in Jewish cemeteries in Philadelphia, Charleston, S. C., Richmond, Va., and Easton, Pa., reveals no one with the name of Ephraim. Possibly Reb Ephraim died in England, where he and Jacob Cohen were in business together, probably before the American revolution,⁶ and that upon the cessation of hostilities the rabbi of London seeks to have the claim settled. The fact that Reb Ephraim is said to owe money in England would support this conjecture.

Identification of Reb Jacob Cohen presents problems as well. There seem to have been at least three men with the name of Jacob Cohen in America at this time, and all were in Philadelphia about the time our letter was written. Rev. Jacob Cohen who came to officiate at the Mikve Israel synagogue in 1784, need hardly detain us. As a minister of a synagogue it is unlikely that he engaged in business. The second possibility is Jacob I. Cohen of Richmond, Va., and Philadelphia.⁷ He came to Lancaster, Pa., in 1773 and after a brief stay there went on to Charleston, S. C. In 1782 we find him in Philadelphia and later in Richmond. In 1805 he returned to Philadelphia where he was *parnass* of the congregation during the years 1810-1811. Living in Philadelphia in 1782 he might have been there in the fall of 1784, the date of our letter, as well.

⁵ See *Publications*, no. 4, pp. 215-216.

⁶ Both Jacob Cohens referred to below were here during the American revolution, hence if they were in England it could only have been prior to the '70's.

⁷ Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, "History of the Jews of Richmond," pp. 17-20, also note 23 p. 343.

Another Jacob Cohen, the third of that name, lived mainly in Charleston, S. C., and died there in 1808.⁸ He was in Philadelphia, though, at the end of the period of the American revolution. The lists of the Mikve Israel members reveal indeed two members named Jacob Cohen.⁹ We are inclined however to accept the Richmond Cohen as the one mentioned in our letter, but there is no way of identifying him in a positive way.

The description of the court of arbitration, set up by Haym Salomon and Jacob Cohen, is extremely interesting. This is probably the first record of such a proceeding in American Jewish history. The arbiters were Simon Nathan, *parnass* of Mikve Israel at the time this letter was written, and Joseph Carpeles, the one who wrote the letter for Salomon. Both Haym Salomon and Jacob Cohen were required to deposit personal checks of four thousand ducats each, to guarantee the acceptance of the verdict of the court. Apparently this procedure, choosing an arbitration court to settle difficulties between the Jews, was of common occurrence. The Jews preferred to settle differences in this way rather than to resort to litigation in the civil courts.

Our letter throws some light upon the financial standing of the members of the Jewish community. Both Haym Salomon and Jacob Cohen are able to make deposit of four thousand ducats, equal to about nine thousand dollars in our currency. The legacy in itself involves some two thousand dollars, no slight sum in those days. Our letter also gives us an insight into how a native of a European town would do anything he could for a *landsmann*, even willing to advance funds to the heir if the rabbi considers it necessary.

The personal references to Haym Salomon in the letter are quite interesting for their biographical value. Salomon

⁸ See Elzas, "The Jews of South Carolina," p. 106. Also portrait of Cohen with dates of birth and death opposite p. 118.

⁹ See Rosenbach, "The Jews of Philadelphia prior to 1800," pp. 22-23.

admits that his business is "quite extensive." He takes credit for arranging the arbitration "very cleverly." His father in Lissa is to be provided with clothes, probably a shroud which every Orthodox Jew in Europe arranged for during his lifetime, a burial plot and membership in the local community. From this it would appear that his father, not being an elector in the synagogue of Lissa, was a very poor man. This is confirmed by a statement of Salomon himself in a letter to Philip Moses, a relation in Charleston, S. C.¹⁰ The paragraph in our letter referring to a gift of a gold chain to his mother is very obscure. He desires that the gift be one given on condition that it be returned. Why Salomon refused to allow his mother or her heir, to sell the chain, we cannot say. Perhaps it was a memento that he cherished. Lowenstamm refers to Salomon as a philanthropist. Apparently he was known in Jewish circles in Amsterdam for his charitable deeds.¹¹

Our letter indicates a knowledge of and an interest in America and in its Jews on the part of both the rabbi of London as well as that of Amsterdam. How extensive this was we are unable to say, but our letter demonstrates that the Jews beyond the seas, or at least some of their outstanding leaders, were beginning to become known in Europe; and occasional intercourse by letter occurs.

Finally, our letter, through the Lowenstamm testimonial, offers an interesting comment on the perils and hardships of a journey to America. Of course in the case of Reb Jacob, the rabbi asks for financial aid, which the average immigrant to America probably did not require. Yet his anxiety over help and guidance that Jews are asked to give in order to speed the man safely over the long journey across the ocean would indicate that the European Jew looked upon a trip to America as replete with hardship and perils. This attitude undoubtedly had its effect in deterring Jewish immigration to America in the eighteenth century.

¹⁰ See letter book *supra*.

¹¹ *Horeb*, *supra*.

RECEIPT BOOK OF JUDAH HAYS,

JUNE 20, 1759 TO DECEMBER 23, 1762.

BY HAROLD KORN, A. M., PH. D.

Some years ago the writer, while doing research work in the period of the American Revolution, discovered by accident a receipt book kept by Judah Hays and Moses M. Hays.¹ It was found among the MSS. of the Virginia historical society and covered from January 12, 1763 to July 18, 1766. A photostatic copy was made and presented to the American Jewish Historical Society. A paper based upon this MS. was printed in *Publications*, No. 28, in 1922.²

In describing the book attention was called to the varied, detailed and accurate information it contains for the genealogist, the political economist, the social economist and the general historian. The statement holds true for the present document, purchased in New York City, February, 1935, and presented to the Society by Dr. Rosenbach.

The date of the ending of this book, December 23, 1762, and the beginning of the subsequent MS., January 12, 1763, show the two volumes to have been practically continuous. The lapse of the few days between the ending of the one and the commencing of the other may be accounted for by the intervening of the holiday season, when little if any business was transacted. The numbering of the receipts confirms this conclusion. There are 277 consecutively-numbered items in

¹ *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, index volume, p. 211 *et seq.*

² Pp. 223-229. Judah and Moses M. Hays were merchants and ship-owners in New York, Boston and Newport. An explanation of how the receipt book happened to be found in Virginia can be made by recalling that Samuel Myers, son-in-law of Moses M., lived at Petersburg in this state.

the present MS., with 19 unnumbered at the end of the book. The following volume starts anew with No. 1, and it may be a mere coincidence, but it contains 296 receipts, the exact number of the total of the preceding document.

All the receipts in the volume at hand were given to Judah Hays; only in a few instances the name of the son, Moses M., appears as a witness. In the previously discovered volume the first 141 vouchers were taken by the father and the remainder by the son.

In my account of the MS. that was found first, it was said that practically all of the items were in the same excellent handwriting, "apparently that of a clerk." This surmise is now proved correct. Receipt No. 260, June 25, 1762, is signed by Benjamin Cooke, who states that he received £71-10 "in sundry payments, being in full for clerk's salary and all other accounts and demands." The body of the voucher is in the same fine, clear, typical eighteenth-century style of copy-book handwriting as the signature and like most of the receipts in both books.

As in the volume previously described which post-dates the one now being considered, a majority of the receipts naturally relate to business transactions. Many of the items give only the date and amount paid by Judah Hays, stated twice always, written in the body of the voucher and in numerals at the side. Practically all were signed in legible writing. When a cross was used, in lieu of signature, a witness attested. Only one receipt is signed in Hebrew. It is that of Samuel Moses, to whom Judah paid £26-13 on November 26, 1762 for 1066 ropes of onions.³ This item is in the writing of Moses M. Hays, who also was the witness. The son was meticulous, because when he signed the name for Samuel Moses, he wrote beside it "in Hebrew," perhaps having in mind not to puzzle posterity.

³ Receipt book, p. 79.

Most of the receipts are simply written "in full for all accounts." However, several of them specify the articles for which payment was made and give the prices. Such figures are of great value to the economist as they establish the prevailing market-value of commodities.

Trading was generally on a cash basis. The few instances of barter recorded are when wampum entered into the transaction.⁴ Then part payment was made in cash, and part in goods.

Several of the receipts are worthy of special mention. Those signed by A. Salomon might be called nearly works of art.⁵ This signature for size and flourish is unsurpassable.

Item No. 207 at first appears puzzling.⁶ It states that Judah Hays paid out £74-4-8 for bread sold to Jacob Franks.⁷ Franks was one of the most active officers of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, but it can hardly be assumed that he was called upon to feed the entire congregation. However, it is further known that he was agent of the British crown for the North American colonies and contractor for the English during the French and Indian war. It seems safe to assume that the large sum paid for bread was to supply the king's troops.

On September 23, 1760, Judah Hays paid £43-8-6 for freight of goods shipped by Moses Franks on board the *Prince George* and £16-4 for the passage of Moses M. Hays from London to New York. Among Jews Moses Franks⁸ appears to have transacted the most business with Hays and among the numerous Christians, the name of Elias Desbrosses leads. Sometimes one receipt, such as No. 112, will bear such prominent New York names as De Peyster, Gerard and Beekman.⁹

⁴ Nos. 47, 96, 102, 107.

⁵ Nos. 134, 151.

⁶ Receipt book, p. 56.

⁷ *Publications, supra*, no. 20, p. 165 *et seq.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁹ Receipt book, p. 29.

On the same day, June 25, 1762 Hays paid £65-12 to Thos. Crugier, master of the ship *Duke of Cumberland*, for freight of forty-one hogsheads of rum from Barbados to New York, and £24 in full for freight of four negroes from Martinique. Whether both the rum and the negroes, or either, were for his own use cannot be said, but the payment for the negroes was passage-money only, as other receipts establish a much higher price for the purchase of slaves.

Obviously Judah Hays had no prejudice against liquid refreshment, for in addition to several other receipts for the importation of rum, he bought several barrels of cider and two barrels of beer for £2-16.

A purchase that arrests special attention occurred on September 4, 1761.¹⁰ Item No. 209 shows that Judah Hays brought a barrel of pork from Raphael Jacobs.¹¹ This can hardly be called a *kosher* transaction. For other items in the same category he may receive the benefit of doubt. For instance, when on September 30, 1760 he paid £4-3-2 for "butcher's meat," or on November 7, he gave John Foster £2-17-6 for poultry. But pork is pork.

Apparently the wide open spaces in colonial New York city made it a cold place in which to live. The most frequent article of purchase was oakwood, used for both heating and cooking. Other household items that appear are the receipts for wages paid to female servants. Among these are No. 98, signed by the cross-mark of Mary Smith, and No. 156 similarly signed by Ann Dickinson. Either these maids were more careful in their household duties than one of their successors, Marion Mahon, who, it was found in the subsequent receipt book, had indulged in the breaking of china to such an extent that Mrs. Hays ordered 8 sh. to be deducted from her wages.

The vouchers relating to real estate and taxes are interesting and informative. It is revealed that May 1st must have

¹⁰ Receipt book, p. 57.

¹¹ *Publications, supra*, no. 18, p. 101.

been established very early in the history of New York as the annual date to begin or end the rental of property. On June 2, 1761, Judah Hays paid to John Jay for six months' rent due to the father, Peter Jay, £38-1-8.¹² The rent was due May 1, so tenants were not always prompt in their payments even in colonial times. Again on May 1, 1760, Hays paid to D. Provost £25 "in full for a quarter rent."¹³ This payment was made for Abraham Sarzados, son-in-law of Judah Hays.¹⁴ The receipt shows him to have been the usual over-indulgent Jewish parent. Not alone did Hays pay his son-in-law's rent but he paid nearly double what he did for his own residence. His generosity is emphasized when it is recalled that his daughter Rachel had married Sarzados against her father's will.

Besides the pest of a parasitic son-in-law, as head of his family Judah Hays was called upon to meet various taxes. Item No. 117 states that he paid a government tax of £9-12 on the house which he rented and a tax on his estate, obviously a personal property tax, of £4-11-8. In addition, he gave on March 24, 1761, £0-13-8 for the usual minister-and-poor-tax. It will be remembered that the ministers of the prevailing sect in a community were supported by a general tax on those of all faiths and likewise everyone was obliged to help to pay for the relief of the poor.

On a loose leaf of writing paper found in the receipt book is the following statement, filled with such interesting information that it is here quoted in full. There is nothing on the paper to show when or by whom it was written. The handwriting is different than any other in the receipt book. Both the paper and the writing appear to be of a period long past, but how long seems impossible to determine.

Judah Hays an Israelite & merch. of N. York; his name, on a petition June 18, 1729 added to the bill of Nat. before the assembly.

¹² No. 172.

¹³ No. 83.

¹⁴ Sometimes spelled Sarzedas.

That of David Hays added next day. Bill passed on 28th & confirmed by Gov. Montgomerie July 12th.

Both admitted to freedom of city in 1735.

Purchased property 26 Nov. 1742, Lib. 32, f. 529.

Will dated 22 July 1763, prov. 27 Aug. 1764, Lib. 24, f. 464. Inclined to cut off his son Michael who has proved disobedient and owes him 400£; but on persuasion forgives him, and leaves 300£ N. Y. C. to be put out at interest for his benefit. Residue to wife Rebecca & children, save Rachel, to whom, having married contrary to his will & desire, he leaves 5 s/. He alludes to her subsequently, it would seem, as the dau. who had married Abr. Sarzados, and provides for her welfare. Extrs, wife Rebecca, son Moses M. Hays & Wm. M. Smith.

On a like sheet of paper in the same handwriting a table of contents of the receipt book, headed "Miscellaneous" was started but not completed.

The bringing to light of the two receipt books arouses the speculation that others very likely will still be discovered. These two cover only the period from June 20, 1759 to July 18, 1766. The father, Judah, was a prominent merchant and shipowner in New York before the date of the first document and the son Moses M. was one of the leading business men of New York, Newport and Boston. He lived until 1805 and there is good reason to believe that more of his records will be found.

THE POLONIES TALMUD TORAH OF NEW YORK¹

BY JACOB I. HARTSTEIN, A. M.

"In the Common Year 1801 Myer Polony a native of Poland died in New York, and bequeathed to the Congregation [Shearith Israel] the sum of Nine Hundred dollars; the interest to be applied towards the establishing of a Hebrew School."²

With the establishment of this fund the school *Yeshibat Minhath Areb*, which had been founded in 1731, became the Polonies Talmud Torah, a name which it has carried ever since. The school was opened on Sunday, May 2, 1802,

... for the purpose of teaching the Hebrew language three hours each day.³

The founding of this school in 1802 did not mark the beginning of a permanent institution. Its significance lay rather in the fact that a precedent had been established. Various causes contributed to frustrate the efforts of those

¹This is a part of a more complete work by the author on the history of Jewish education in New York City from the beginning to the present time. The story of the efforts on behalf of Jewish education before 1800 by the Shearith Israel Synagogue of New York, which is equivalent to the history of Jewish education in New York City up to that period, can be studied in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 21, pp. 7, 72, 89, 148-149; No. 27, pp. 8-11, 52; D. deSola Pool, "The earliest religious school in America," in *Jewish teacher*, New York, 1917, pp. 161-167; and Alexander Dushkin, "Jewish education in New York City," New York, 1918, pp. 28-62, 449-468. Dushkin also gives extracts from the Shearith Israel minutes pertaining to education for the years 1731-1874.

²*Publications, supra*, No. 21, p. 215.

³MS. Minutes of the Shearith Israel Congregation. Quoted matter and matter in smaller type in the text hereafter are from the congregation's Minutes, unless otherwise identified.

who labored on behalf of popular Jewish education in New York; but every failure served only as the cause for a revival. Between 1802 and 1846 the existence of the school was very irregular. Only two years after its establishment, Rev. Gershon M. Seixas, who had been hired as the teacher when the school was opened at \$350 per annum, refused to teach for less than \$300 per annum. The school board refused to meet his demands. The renewal of the contract was indefinitely postponed and the school was closed.

On October 1804, one Simeon Levy applied for permission to open a Hebrew school and Abraham Jacobs, a Hebrew and English School,

for the purpose of filling the vacancy of Tutor to the School of the Polonies Talmud Torah.

Jacobs was hired, and when his contract expired, in May 1805, the school was again abandoned. Nothing was done for three years. In 1808, a committee of trustees was again appointed to engage a teacher in order to reopen the school. One Carvalho was engaged and the Polonies Talmud Torah School was opened on June 5th "for admission of Scholars."⁴ On April 22, 1811, however, Carvalho resigned and the school was closed. On March 8, 1812, Simeon Levy became the teacher of the School, but four years later he resigned because of the insufficient income. The school was again closed.

The Congregation made every effort to reopen the school. In 1818 Rabbi Pique was engaged as teacher. But in the early part of the year 1821 it was found that there were only six students attending the school,

one pay scholar and five free scholars, four of whom he [the Rabbi] admitted without any permission from the Board.⁵

⁴ *Publications, supra*, No. 21, p. 162.

⁵ The minutes have it as six students. The "memorial" described in note 18 has it as seven. This apparent contradiction may be due to the fact that the former figure was noted in February. Another student was admitted later in the year.

It was, therefore decided to dispense with the school. Over five months elapsed before a new teacher, I. Alvares Deleon was hired. But the effort to attract students proved unsuccessful, and on September 21, 1821, only two months after he was hired, Deleon was informed that, since there existed

. . . no disposition on the part of families to send their children . . .

to his school, and since the objects for which he had been engaged were "frustrated" he was discharged. The Congregation, however, appropriated \$50 to compensate him.

September 30, 1823 one Abrm. H. Cohen wrote to the congregation:

Encouraged by several of my friends, I contemplate as soon as arrangements can be effected to establish a school in the city, for teaching the Hebrew Language, thereby affording the means of acquiring and diffusing a better knowledge of our Holy religion and its divine precepts.

He also asked the congregation to aid him in his project and to send some of their children for instruction to him. The school was reestablished under Cohen's supervision and was in existence till August 1828, when Cohen resigned to accept a better position at Richmond, Virginia. Eight months elapsed before a committee was appointed to reopen the school ". . . under the charge of the Rev. Isaac B. Seixas . . ." ⁶ This school was reopened and continued till the end of December 1834, when the contract of the teacher was cancelled, and it was resolved to reorganize the Talmud Torah "under a competent and suitable teacher." But, this resolution was not acted upon until four years later, and even then, the school could not be reopened. A committee which was appointed "to ascertain whether a suitable person can be obtained," reported that they had sent circulars in quest of a teacher to various places. It appears, however, that a teacher was not hired and the school remained closed.

⁶ MS. Minutes, April 29, 1829.

During the summer of 1842 the school was reopened as a result of the intercession of the Society for the Education of Poor Children and Relief of Indigent Persons of the Jewish Persuasion.⁷ The latter had petitioned the trustees of the congregation in June, 1841, to contribute the yearly interest accruing on the Polonies Fund in order

to assist it in establishing a school upon an extended scale, which the society seems to have deemed expedient to establish.

The appropriation was asked for at least one year subject to refusal of renewal by the directors, should the school not succeed "according to the fond anticipations of the society." In return for the appropriation the society offered to "educate any number of poor children, that the trustees might see fit to send." David Hart and B. S. Lazarus who were appointed on July 1, 1841, as a committee to confer with the society reported to the board on November 14, 1841

. . . that they think the trustees would not be justifiable in making any appropriation of that money, other than . . .

to pay for Hebrew scholars whom the trustees would send to the Society's school, provided the cost of their tuition did not exceed the interest for the time being. The reporters maintained that to grant the Society's request, they would

not be carrying out the intention of the testators, nor of the other contributors to that fund, but would render the trustees obnoxious to the charge of a dereliction of duty, and might possibly make the Congregation liable to respond in damages.

This report was approved by all but one member of the board, and accepted.

This question arose again on June 22, 1842, when M. M. Noah and Lewis I. Cohen urged upon the trustees to take some action in order to provide schooling for poor children.

⁷ Hereafter referred to as the Society for Education.

The proposal of Noah and Cohen appears to have been in support of the petition made by the Society for Education, since a committee to whom the matter was referred reported as follows:

Your committee are however unable to arrive at the conclusion that the board of trustees possess the power of appropriating the interest of the school fund for the purpose of aiding in establishing a school in the manner asked for in their communication.

By the last will and Testament of Myer Polonies a legacy was left our Congregation for the express purpose of establishing a Hebrew school, and by the seventh Article of Constitution it is made imperatively the duty of the board of Trustees to form a School under such regulations as they may deem salutary and proper.

It will therefore be seen that to carry out the views of Messrs. Noah and Cohen in the manner proposed by them, would require on the part of the board of trustees at best the assumption of doubtful powers, hence your Committee feel bound to report as their opinion, that the trustees would not be justified, however sound or desirable may be the proposition of Messrs. Noah and Cohen, in parting with the avails of the school fund according to the plan asked for by them.⁸

The committee's report recommended an alternative: it proposed that the congregation establish a school for instruction in the Hebrew language according to the Portuguese custom, or mode of reading, under the name of

The Polonies Talmud Torah as early as the arrangements can be completed; said school to be held in the room under the synagogue known as the school room.

The plan proposed further that the Society for Education, "composed principally if not entirely" of members of the congregation, be requested to appropriate part of its permanent fund in order to enable the congregation to reopen the Talmud Torah. This appropriation, added to the interest of the school fund, and the donations, subscriptions and moderate tuition

⁸ MS. Minutes, July 5, 1842.

fees from those who would be able to pay—the committee felt—would enable the board of trustees

to establish and keep up an effective school for Hebrew instruction, wherein poor children would be given a free education.

The committee further recommended the appointment of a board of inspectors, who were to give notice of the opening of the school, to engage a teacher, to inspect the school once a month, to admit and discharge pupils,

to decide all differences that may arise between the pupils and the teacher,

to advise as to ways and means of raising revenue in addition to the permanent funds, and to draw a code of rules and regulations for the school. The decision of the inspectors were to be subject to the approval of the board of trustees. The recommendations of the committee were unanimously accepted, and steps were taken to open a school. A board of inspectors was appointed with M. M. Noah as president. The Society for Education after some negotiation agreed to appropriate \$250 for a trial period of one year and named three of its members to act as inspectors in conjunction with those appointed by the congregation. At a meeting of the congregation August 11, 1842,

the rules and regulations for governing the Polonies School Talmud Torah, . . . were read, approved and ordered on file.

A week later, August 16, 1842 a resolution was passed authorizing the president

to advance the interest of the school fund monthly to the board of inspectors.

We have no further information about this school beyond an indication that it existed for a short period. The financial records show that money was drawn for it; that Rev. B. Cavarillon was the teacher; and that he was paid the salary

of \$270 from the time he assumed his position, probably August or September 1842, till July 1, 1843.⁹ On July 11, 1843, Rev. J. J. Lyons, in a letter to the board of trustees declared his intention

to open a class for instruction in the Hebrew language, and requested the use of the school room for the purpose at such times as will not interfere with prior appropriations.

The request of Lyons had to be repeated February 1844 before the congregation agreed to allow him, in addition to the use of the school rooms,

such fuel as he may deem necessary for the use of the school.

On March 26, 1845 a committee consisting of Joseph, who was a member of the board of inspectors, and Seixas, was appointed to decide how to expend the income of the Polonies Talmud Torah fund. On May 5, 1845 the committee recommended the appropriation of \$200

for the re-establishment of the Polonies Talmud Torah School, which shall be taken from the annual income of the fund of said school.

These plans were resumed on September 24, 1845, when Lyons was engaged as the teacher. The school opened on November 2, 1845 in the basement of the synagogue on Crosby Street. May 25, 1846 a letter was received from Lyons, informing the congregation that, due to ill health, he would resign at the end of the quarter. With his resignation in June the school was suspended until October 25, 1846, when another letter was received from him stating that his health had improved, and that he wished to recall his resignation and resume his duties. This request was granted and the school was reopened on November 1, 1846. Thereafter the school enjoyed an uninterrupted existence, though fundamental changes continued to be introduced from time to time.

⁹ MS. Minutes, July 6, 1843.

The main aim and purpose of the Polonies Talmud Torah School were to provide the poor children with an education. This purpose was stressed in every teacher's contract. In fact, the contracts provided in most cases for the free instruction of a certain number of scholars. The congregation did not seem to be concerned about the wealthy people. They were left to take care of themselves, since they were able to send their children to boarding schools or to engage private tutors. The desire to provide for the poor children brought the congregation into relations with the Society for Education. A letter dated June 3, 1833, addressed by the society to the congregation, complained of the teacher Seixas' refusal to teach on Sundays the orphans under the care of the society. On July 1, 1833, the trustees passed a resolution directing

the teacher of the Polonies Talmud Torah . . . to teach the three boys alluded to in the communication on Sundays at the usual school hours.

While the aim of the school was rather definite, the curriculum was not. It was never definitely decided what constituted a proper education for the poor children. Should the congregation provide them with a Hebrew education only, or with a secular education as well? This question was a perplexing one, and no definite policy was formulated till 1856. Thus, when the school was established in 1802, secular subjects were not included in the curriculum; only Hebrew was to be taught. In 1804, however, when Abraham Jacobs was engaged, the reading and writing of English were added to the curriculum. On May 24, 1818, geography was introduced. When the school became a private enterprise, in 1822, the secular subjects were again dropped and only Hebrew was taught. The limited Hebrew curriculum was continued under Abram Cohen and Rev. Isaac B. Seixas, as well as under Rev. J. J. Lyons, who opened the school as a private enterprise, in December 1839.

On July 25, 1854, a resolution was passed

that in view of the *additional means* of the school fund by reason of the legacy of Touro,¹⁰ the Committee of the Talmud Torah with the President of the board be requested to prepare as early as practicable a plan for extending the usefulness of said School with suitable rules and regulations to carry the same into effect.¹¹

This committee recommended

a course of instruction in the necessary branches of English education in addition to Hebrew.

The committee's recommendation was accepted and the parochial school was re-established.

By this time the need for parochial schools was no longer urgent. The New York Board of Education had been established in 1842 and its general school system was making rapid progress. It supplied the poorer and middle class element with a secular education. Many Jewish boarding schools had likewise been established. These served the purpose of the wealthier. Therefore, as might have been expected, the parochial school, which had been started but a year before, was discontinued on April 23, 1856, and it was never re-opened. The Colonies Talmud Torah School, when it was re-established, concerned itself with Hebrew religious instruction. This has remained its purpose to this day.

As to the details of what was actually taught, between 1800 and 1845, we have practically no information. It appears that the board of trustees concerned itself only with general policies, such as whether to include secular studies or not. The details appear to have been left to the discretion of the teacher. In 1846 we find a more complete statement as to exactly what Lyons was to teach:

the Hebrew language in its original purity according to the Portuguese mode of reading to instruct them in spelling and reading the same,

¹⁰ See p. 134, *infra*.

¹¹ MS. Report submitted on Oct. 17, 1854; also in MS. Minutes.

mode of reading the daily and festival prayers according to the custom of the Congregation Shearith Israel, mode of chanting the *Parshots* and *Astoroth*, the Books of Esther, Ruth and Lamentations, according to their respective *Tangavium* in Portuguese Congregations, elementary Rules of the Orthography of the Hebrew Language, the Hebrew Grammar, Translation of the Prayers, *Parashots* and *Astoroth*, the elements of the Jewish History and Geography of the holy Land.¹² [He was also] to lecture the scholars at least once a month more particularly at the approach of any particular day of observance in the Jewish Ritual on such subject as may best incite a true love and esteem for their holy faith.

The curriculum, as recommended by the committee which proposed the reestablishment of the parochial school, in 1854, consisted of:

Hebrew

Reading, Writing, Grammar, Translating Prayers and the Scriptures, and in Bible History.

English

The alphabet, Conversations on Common Things, Spelling, Reading, Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, History, Composition, Writing on States, and Penmanship.¹³

In 1856 the secular subjects were again dropped from the curriculum, but the Hebrew curriculum appears to have been continued as outlined here.

In the first decade of the 19th century the Polonies Talmud Torah School was supported from the interest derived from the Polonies bequest and from tuition fees. The interest derived from the bequest paid for the free pupils, which at this time was limited to seven. The paying students more than paid for themselves. Carvalho, the new teacher, when the school was reopened on June 5, 1808, taught secular as well as Hebrew subjects. The school, therefore, considered itself a part

¹² MS. Extract from the contract signed by Lyons and the congregation.

¹³ MS. Minutes, April 11, 1845.

of the common school system and when it was learned that the New York State Legislature was appropriating money to help various charity schools, "supported by religious societies," the Congregation Shearith Israel applied for the same privilege. The first memorial sent by them directly to the state legislature did not meet with success; it seems not even to have been taken up for consideration. It was, therefore, decided, on January 3, 1811, to send a committee to see the Mayor, De Witt Clinton, who promised personally to draw up a memorial and to send it to the Legislature.¹⁴ This he did and, on April 22, 1811, the trustees received from the Mayor a copy of a section of the act which had been passed on April 9, 1811, by the "Legislature for their benefit." This act made it

. . . lawful for the Mayor, Aldermen and commonalty of the City of New York to pay the trustees of Shearith Israel in the City of New York the like sum as was paid to the other religious congregations respectively . . .¹⁵

As a result of this act the congregation received from the legislature the sum of \$1,565.70

for the purpose of instruction of poor children in the most useful branches of common education, in conformity to the injunctions contained in an act directing certain moneys to be applied for the use of free schools in New York City.¹⁶

The city thereby made all back payments which the Congregation had been entitled to in accordance with an act of the Legislature passed in 1801,¹⁷ but which it had not received previously. As a result of the Legislature's contribution, which more than doubled the Polonies Talmud Torah School Fund, the number of free scholars was, in 1812, increased to

¹⁴ For the text of the memorial, see Dushkin, *supra*, p. 452.

¹⁵ See Dushkin, *supra*, p. 453.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ "Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York," vol. vi, pp. 565-566, 588.

ten. The awards from the common school fund were continued as is shown in the following table:¹⁸

Year	Per Capita Payment	Number of Pupils	Amount Awarded
1814	\$3.83	11	\$42.20
1815	3.63	14	51.52
1816	3.52	10	35.20
1817	3.27	..	
1818	2.97	..	
1819	2.87 $\frac{3}{4}$	6	17.26
1820	2.97 $\frac{3}{4}$	7	20.34
1821	2.23	7	15.61
1822	1.96	..	
1823	1.64	..	

The Polonies Fund was later increased by a bequest of \$661.91 by Rachel Pinto of New York.¹⁹ Other contributions were also received, so that by 1837 the endowment had reached \$4000, and by 1841, \$5000. In 1854 Judah Touro of New Orleans died and bequeathed to this fund \$13,000. By 1864 another \$500 had been bequeathed and the fund of \$18,500 was invested in bonds and mortgages, the interest of which was used for the maintenance of the school.

We shall now discuss all legislation enacted by the board of trustees of the Congregation affecting the Polonies Talmud Torah. It appears that the trustees, at least during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, took no interest in the school beyond engaging and discharging the teachers, fixing salaries, tuition fees, and the number of pupils, and deciding whether the school should be a parochial or only a

¹⁸ Table showing the "Distribution of the School Fund from 1814 to 1824" extracted from "Memorials Presented to the Legislature in the Session of 1823, Praying the Repeal of the Section of the Law Granting Peculiar Privileges to the Trustees of the Bethel Baptist Church, in the Appropriation of the Common School Fund, together with Introductory Observations and Facts. Published by order of the Board of Trustees of the Free School Society of New York." 1825.

¹⁹ *Publications, supra*, No. 21, p. 215.

Hebrew school. Although inspectors were elected annually and charged with the duty of examining the pupils once a month in order to note the progress, little is known of the extent to which these officers discharged their functions. On the whole it appears that the popularity of this school declined as it progressed. This might have been due to the frequent changes in teachers, which meant sudden breaks in the continuity of the work of the school, and which also hindered any progress that might have been made, during this period, along Jewish educational lines. The fluctuation in the terms on which teachers were hired best reflects this situation; not always was the board willing to guarantee the salary for 30 or 35 pupils.²⁰ Thus Seixas was hired in 1832 as the teacher at a salary of \$350 per annum in equal quarterly payments “. . . with the privilege of admitting two of his own children.” The school enrollment was limited to 30, excluding the rabbi's two children, of which 7 were to be free scholars and 23 paying students. For any additional paying students Seixas was to receive \$12.50 per annum per pupil. Records show that the number of applicants at the opening of the school did exceed 30. The tuition was set at \$4.50 per quarter, and the students were to provide their own books, which were at times imported by the congregation and sold to the pupils. School was kept in the *hebra* or synagogue quarters which were especially repaired and fitted up for the purpose.

In 1805 when Jacobs was hired he was allowed only

\$70 and the use of the School Room to teach seven free scholars the Hebrew and English language until the first day of May next.

In 1809 Carvalho was hired at a salary twice that of Seixas,²¹

²⁰ This might have been due to the ability and reputation of the teacher. As we know good teachers were especially hard to find.

²¹ Carvalho was offered \$700. He deemed that amount insufficient since he thought he would need an assistant. The fact that he was

"... to teach 30 pupils Hebrew and English . . ." Carvalho's increase in salary seems, however, to have been accompanied by a corresponding improvement in the work of the school. The inspectors were so favorably impressed with the progress of the pupils, at a public examination held in June 1809, that \$31.25 were appropriated for medals and books for the outstanding pupils. Simon Levy was engaged on March 8, 1812, at a salary of \$100 per annum as the

... tuition for 10 free scholars, in Hebrew and English, from the age of 5, until thirteen.²²

Although the trustees ruled in 1808

... not to furnish scholars with any article of stationery except ink yet they now decided that Levy was to furnish stationery as well as fuel. The school room was provided by the congregation, and Levy was also given the privilege to increase the number of pupils, "not to exceed forty," on such terms as he might agree upon with the pupils' parents. The books were to have been provided by the pupils, but the minutes of October 27, 1812 show that they were furnished by the trustees.

In 1816, Rabbi Pique was engaged as Hebrew teacher for a number of charity children not to exceed twelve, at a salary of \$300 per annum, to be raised from the interests on the school funds, the state school fund for teaching charity scholars, and the congregation's treasury. Rabbi Pique was also allowed to accept donations and admit paying students. With reference to the latter he had to arrange the tuition and collect it himself. The board of trustees assumed no responsibility. On May 24, 1818 a formal agreement was signed with Rabbi Pique which provided for the hiring of a competent

hired despite his declination points to the probability that he received even more than this amount. *Publications, supra*, No. 21, p. 161.

²² This was after the state contribution had been received.

assistant for the English department, to be paid by him.²³ The same contract provided for the free instruction of a maximum of five pupils in English and fifteen in Hebrew, and fixed the tuition of other scholars at \$5 per quarter for teaching Hebrew, \$7 per quarter for Hebrew and English, and \$9 a quarter for Hebrew, English and French. When Abram Cohen was engaged as teacher, in 1823, it was decided

. . . that the sum of \$225 from the school fund interest for one year be appropriated to be paid monthly to Mr. Cohen with the use of the school room. Mr. Cohen to teach such free scholars as the trustees may think proper to send and to be under such rules and regulations as shall be agreed on by the trustees and Mr. Cohen . . .

We have pointed out the rather loose supervision that existed. This condition was occasionally deplored by some and resulted in attempts at close control. Thus on September 22, 1834, a resolution was passed asking the teacher to submit the following information to the board:

1st. The number and names of free scholars attending said school.

2nd. The days on which they severally attend, the number of hours in said day for which said school is kept open.

3rd. Whether said scholars attend regularly or not, in what branches they are taught and what progress they have made in the several branches.

4th. Whether or not any other than free scholars attend said school.

The report appears to have been lost, but it unquestionably reflected poorly on the school for immediately after a resolution was passed

that it is expedient to reorganize the school of Polonies Talmud Torah, and . . . that the present arrangement with the teacher shall cease and determine three months from 1st October ensuing, and that notice thereof be given by the clerk on the part of the trustees to the teacher of said school.²⁴

²³ It may be noted that Rabbi Pique first introduced geography into the curriculum at that time.

²⁴ MS. Minutes, September 25, 1834.

When the school was reöpened under Rev. J. J. Lyons on November 2, 1845, the committee drew up a set of regulations. The most important follow: The school hours were

on Sundays from 9 to 1 o'clock; on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 1st November to 1st May, from 2 to 4; and from 1st May to 1st November, from 3 to 6 o'clock,²⁵ except Jewish and legal holidays.

Every pupil was to provide his or her books, as directed by the teacher with the sanction of the committee of the trustees, but the teacher in his contract agreed

not to require the scholars to procure any books of instruction not absolutely necessary.

Any scholar feeling aggrieved by any requirement of the teacher, was given an opportunity to apply for redress to the committee of the trustees.

All pupils were required to attend the services in the synagogue Friday evenings, Saturday mornings, and holidays.

Contrary to all precedent the school rules provided further that no child of either sex should be accepted unless it was at least six years of age and was capable of reading and writing the English language. There was no provision made for advanced studies. In fact, it was ordered that

no scholar will be permitted to remain under tuition, after being deemed to have made such progress as no longer to require the aid of a teacher.

No playing about the premises of the school was permitted and any pupil violating any school rule was subject to discharge. This, however, was not as severe as it sounds. The teacher's contract provided, for example, that he was

²⁵ Rules and Regulations for the government of a school for Gratuitous Instruction of the Hebrew language and Forms of Prayer according to the custom and mode of reading of Portugese Jews, to commence on the Second of November, 5606. This MS. is in possession of the Congregation.

to use no undue or improper severity . . . and to avoid if possible all corporeal punishment.²⁶

When the school again became a parochial school, in 1854, the school hours were set "from 9 to 3 o'clock, from 1st May to 1st November, and 9½ to 2½ o'clock, from 1st November to 1st May."²⁷ Lyons became its superintendent and Hebrew teacher at a salary of \$500 per annum; Thomas B. Sandford the English teacher at \$300 per annum; and Miss Harriet Ruden, English teacher at \$100 per annum. After the parochial school had been discontinued, and the Polonies school for the instruction of Hebrew only had been reopened, the congregation also began to supply the books.

The school progressed and more Hebrew teachers were engaged. On November 11, 1856, it was decided to increase Lyons' salary, from \$250 to \$750 per annum. In March 17, 1876, the Harvard Rooms, corner Sixth Avenue and Forty-second Street, were leased at \$400 per annum as additional quarters for the school. In the school year 1878-1879, 207 pupils enrolled in the school; in 1881-1882, 218 pupils.

As we have pointed out there were periods, and sometimes rather extensive ones, when the Polonies Talmud Torah was non-existent. During such times it occasionally happened that the school premises were used by individuals who set up school as their private enterprise. Thus on March 20, 1822, when there had been no school for exactly half a year, one Rivera applied for permission to use the school room as his private school for which he had "already obtained a number of scholars." The use of the school room was granted to Rivera on condition that he should "keep the same in good order."

On June 30th, 1822, a memorial was submitted calling upon the congregation to engage M. M. Mupargo, who arrived

²⁶ From the original contract signed by Lyons and the Congregation.

²⁷ MS. Report submitted by committee, October 17, 1854; MS. Minutes, October 24, 1854.

from Surinam on April 26, 1822, as teacher of the congregational school, to be established, and to receive

. . . that part of the annual stipend which arises from the interests of the legacies of Mr. Polonies and Miss Pinto as well as that from the Benefaction of the State, for charity children, which different amounts have been paid to Mr. Pique and Mr. Deleon.

This memorial was taken under consideration and on July 17, 1822, Mupargo was given terms to open a private school. On December 8, 1839, the board of directors received a request from Lyons for the use of the school room where he could teach Hebrew, and for any other aid that the board might see fit to render. Lyons opened this private school, but when and why he ceased to conduct it, the records do not reveal. He renewed his request July 11, 1843, despite the fact that the Talmud Torah was then in existence. By February 6, 1844, it appears, he had not as yet succeeded in establishing his "Hebrew school" for he still asked for the coöperation of the board in affecting his purpose. By this time the School had closed and this afforded him a better opportunity for success. In 1845 when the congregation reestablished its school Lyons became its teacher, and the period of private enterprise ended.

While the school was privately owned the congregation allowed the use of its rooms, and sometimes contributed more. In return the congregation enjoyed certain powers with regard to the school. Thus Mupargo was allowed also the two upper rooms used by former teachers as living quarters

for such a period of time as the directors will find fit. [In return for this the directors] . . . reserved the right of sending a number of children to the school as they may from time to time think proper, for that which they were to pay a quarter in advance, at the rate of \$2.50 per quarter for each scholar during the time that they [the students] shall continue to attend his school . . .

The teacher was to submit to the trustees a list of the students sent by them and the records of the attendance. The teacher

was also charged with the additional responsibility of seeing that

the scholars shall not be permitted to riot or make a noise in the synagogue yard or about the premises or in any manner to disturb the neighbors.

When Lyons opened his private school the trustees decided to pay him

at the rate of \$5 per quarter for each scholar that they shall place under his charge to be instructed in the Hebrew on such days and hours as shall be agreed on by the teacher and trustees.

Lyons was also given the right to dismiss any scholar from the school at any time,

when payment for the said scholar shall cease.

In return the congregation reserved the right to superintend the school "in relation to the scholars sent by them" through a committee of the board of trustees. The board also reserved the right to withdraw the courtesies extended at any time it might see fit. Thus school administration was during this period a rather haphazard affair. The time of setting up a well-integrated system of Jewish education was still far off; a dream not to be realized till many years later.

ADAH ISAACS MENKEN: A DAUGHTER OF ISRAEL.

BY ALLEN F. LESSER, A. M.

That Adah Isaacs Menken was of Jewish birth and not, as is generally believed, a convert to Judaism, is the conclusion which consistently follows from a critical study of the material relating to her life. Responsibility for the confusing and conflicting details of her parentage rests solely upon her, for, from 1861 to 1868, the years during which she acquired a reputation as the world's most daring and beautiful actress, she authorized three apparently veracious accounts of her life, each one of which, however, presented a radically different story of her birth and parentage from the others. While there is no evidence beyond her own testimony to support any one of these three tales, in which she named her father first as James McCord, then as Richard Irving Spenser, and last as Ricardo Los Fierres, a Spanish Jew,¹ there is definite proof that for the most part they are unblushing fabrications, devised and written solely for their value as theatrical publicity.

To cite but one instance, the McCord story, which is today accepted as the most truthful and reliable, was suggested by a notice which appeared in *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times* on March 3, 1860. It reads:

The Cincinnati *Independent* gives a romantic sketch of an actress named Miss Ada McCord, a ballet girl at the Varieties, New Orleans, under Placide's management, some years since, who has since been Mrs. Bouvary, Mrs. Ned Buntline, etc., etc.

That Adah Menken saw and read this item is proved beyond

¹ For the McCord Story, see "Dictionary of National Biography," vol. xxxvii, p. 252; for the Spenser story, see *New York Times*, September 6, 1868; for Fierres story, see "Appleton's Encyclopedia of American Biography."

question by the fact that in the same column and only a few paragraphs below it there appeared a letter which she had written to the editor George Wilkes, replying to certain of his criticisms.

In the absence of any official documents or records, her true identity must remain a matter of conjecture, although there is some evidence to support my contention that her maiden name was Adah Bertha Theodore. According to an alliterative acrostic, written by Jacob Menken and published in the *Israelite*, November 27, 1857, her given names were Adah Bertha. A biographical sketch in the *New York Illustrated News* for March, 1860, adds the surname Theodore, although the article states that it was merely a stage-name. Inasmuch as it is extremely doubtful that Adah Bertha Theodore was connected with the theatre in any capacity before 1857, it seems reasonable to assume that this was her real name. Neither her father, who died when she was about two years old, nor her mother, who shortly afterward married a man named Josephs, can be satisfactorily identified. Her step-father died in New Orleans during the yellow-fever epidemic of 1853, but her mother survived him until August, 1860. Her half-sister Annie Josephs, who was born about 1840, became a professional dancer and appeared with her in several benefit performances.² Annie's fate is unknown, but there is some slight reason to believe that she died about 1866. No kin survived Adah Menken.

For the details of her early life and adventures, as she described them in her three autobiographical accounts, Adah Menken drew upon an unauthorized and undoubtedly fictitious sketch which had appeared serially in the *New York Illustrated News*, beginning March 17, 1860, under the title "Ada Isaacs Menken, the Wife of John C. Heenan." In the

² See *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, September 27, 1857, also two playbills of the New Gayety Theatre, Albany, dated January 27, 1860, in the collection of Julian H. Moore.

first instalment, the statement was made that while in Cuba and apparently as a result of an unaccountable impulse she had "embraced" the Jewish religion. In no uncertain terms, Adah Menken made haste to refute not only this but other fictitious references as well. In a letter to the editor, which was published in the same paper on March 24, 1860, she declared:

The biography of my humble self seems written in that light and flippant tone, as of a woman who, with all her advantages, had lived on the surface of life. This is wrong. I am a *thinking, earnest* woman. And in that light alone I wish to be spoken of. My biographer has also taken several liberties with his knowledge of facts, the most serious of which is that I *embraced* the Jewish religion. I was born in that faith, and have adhered to it through all my erratic career. Through that pure and simple religion, I have found greatest comfort and blessing. . . . My first name is spelt "Adah" and is a Hebrew name.

The evident sincerity of this avowal cannot be questioned. Not only was it her first public statement concerning her birth and faith, but also the only one which can be supported by definite evidence. With comparatively few exceptions, the twenty-six poems and six essays which she published in the *Israelite* from September 25, 1857, to April 22, 1859, either directly or indirectly deal with Jewish subjects, and in the power of their expression and intense religious emotion betray the genuineness of her convictions. In none of them—although many appear to have been written hastily and with little or no attempt at revision—does she involuntarily reveal the slightest indication that her early religious training had been in any other than the Jewish faith. Rather, she often discloses a detailed knowledge of Hebrew lore and of the traditional biblical references. Several of the poems are dated according to the Hebrew calendar. In *At Spes Non Fracta*,³ which was written as a protest against the oppression of the

³ *The Israelite*, November 6, 1857.

Jews under Turkish rule, she speaks of the "Almond of Aaron" and of the land

Where Shechinah gave token of grace!

In *Dream of the Holy Land*,⁴ the sixth stanza reads:

The holy שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל I said,
In Tadmor's temples of decay,
And startled with my weary tread,
The waste where Memnon's empire lay.

In all these poems, as in *To The Sons of Israel*,⁵ which was written "after reflecting on the Mortara Case," she reveals an untamableness of spirit, a messianic zeal, and an unutterable yearning for sublimity that is unmistakably Hebrew. It is therefore almost inconceivable to suppose that a convert to Judaism, as her biographers would have us believe she had become in 1856, could possibly have captured so profoundly not only the letter but what is even more significant the very essence of what would necessarily have been an alien and ancient tradition.

Furthermore, at no time during her stay in Cincinnati as Alexander Isaac Menken's wife does there appear to have been any question about her Jewish birth. Certainly her husband's family must have made inquiries, yet they as well as their friends gave her their unqualified acknowledgment. Of her associates and friends on *The Israelite*, neither Rev. Issac M. Wise, nor Dr. Nathan Mayer, nor H. M. Moos, nor any other contributor has left us reason to believe that they doubted the honesty of her faith. It is also of importance to note that with but one exception all of her theatrical engagements appear to have been arranged so as not to conflict with the Jewish high holidays. The single exception was during her first sensational San Francisco engagement when *Yom Kippur* fell on September 22, 1863. However, the *Golden Era* records the fact that on this day her theatre remained dark.

⁴ *Ibid.*, August 13, 1858.

⁵ *Ibid.*, January 28, 1858.

She died in Paris on August 10, 1868, after having received the last consolation of her faith from a rabbi. A Hebrew bible which she had owned was willed to her dearest friend Ed James. According to the Paris correspondent of the *New York Herald*, the Jewish community, probably the *chevra kadisha*, performed the last rites and interred her body in the strangers' ground in the Cemetery Père Lachaise. Eight months later, Ed James, posing as her brother, secured permission to transfer the body to its final resting place in the Jewish sector of the Cemetery Montparnasse, where a granite vault had been erected.

From the direct evidence of her letter to the *New York Illustrated News*, from the internal evidence of her early poems, and from the circumstantial evidence of her life, it is impossible to draw any conclusion other than that Adah Isaacs Menken was born a true daughter of Israel. In the slim volume of poems that she called *Infelicia* she has left us an undying testimonial of her faith and aspirations. By her genius and true greatness she is entitled to a place in the history of the Jews of America.

EPIHRAIM DEINARD.

BY ISRAEL SCHAPIRO, PH. D.

The large-scale Jewish emigration from eastern Europe in the 'eighties of the last century brought to these shores a number of Hebrew scholars and writers. Unfortunately, few of them were able to develop further on our soil the talents and erudition which they had brought with them, or to make new contributions to Hebrew learning and literature in their new abode. Many talents were wasted, many contributions to Hebrew letters that might have been expected were not allowed to come to fruition in the new environment and constant struggle for a livelihood. In the atmosphere of so meagre an interest in Jewish matters, little worthwhile could be produced. Moreover, even men of established reputation in their own country lost their identity while here.

One of the few who did not break with his past upon his arrival as an immigrant was Ephraim Deinard. Not only did he continue the task of his life, trying to fulfill the aspirations for which he was best fitted, but he also in his work as writer and collector succeeded in making a unique contribution to the history of American Jewry.

Ephraim Deinard was born at Shossmaken, a little town in Courland, in May, 1846, the son of Jekuthiel Gerson Deinard and Leah Cohn. He was surrounded by an atmosphere of Hebrew learning and literature. At the age of eighteen he wrote numerous articles which were published in the leading Hebrew periodicals of the time, gaining soon quite a reputation. A new impetus was given to his literary inspirations when he married in the year 1866 Margolia Jaffe of Shklov, who like himself was the descendant of a long line of Hebrew scholars. Not being content with mere booklearning, Deinard started out to travel, first through Europe,

gathering data on Jewish history and literature and collecting also rare books and MSS., originally for personal use, not for sale, so that he might shed some light on the history of the Jewish communities and the development of Judaism in its various forms. The result was a number of books, some of which attracted wide attention in their day. His travel-books, with their descriptions of the life and doings of the communities he visited, created a new departure in modern Hebrew literature. Eldad ha-Dani or Petachiah of Regensburg might have been his prototypes. Of particular interest was his book on the Crimea, in which he traced the history of the Karaites. It was he also who by means of his thorough knowledge of the origin, history and development of the Karaite movement was able to uncover some forgeries of Abraham Firkovich, that Russian Karaite archaeologist whose collection of stones bearing Hebrew inscriptions, facsimiles, MSS. and molds taken from tombstones, acquired by the Imperial Library in St. Petersburg on the recommendation of Prof. Daniel Chwolson, gave rise to a whole literature. Continued wandering brought Deinard to Asia and Africa in his search for rare books and MSS. Upon his return to Europe he set himself up as a bookdealer in Odessa, maintaining relations with the leading libraries in Europe and supplying them with material, acquiring shortly a reputation in this rôle. At the same time he continued his literary work. His home became the rendezvous for the leading scholars of the time and a clearing house for the dissemination of knowledge through Hebrew books published in Russia either openly or secretly and even books smuggled in from abroad.

However, as the condition of the Jews in Czaristic Russia had become intolerable, Ephraim Deinard emigrated with his family to the United States in 1888, bringing with him a large collection of books and MSS. He remained for a short time in New York and then settled in New Jersey, residing for two years in Newark and then establishing himself in Arlington, where the treasures of his collections were housed.

Ephraim Deinard made his mark both as a Hebrew writer and as a collector of Hebraica. His merits and achievements, however, can best be appraised when we survey in retrospect the low status of the Hebrew book and Hebrew literature in this country half a century ago. The advent of Deinard can be said to mark a new epoch in Hebrew letters here. He certainly was a pioneer who was fortunate in having lived long enough to see its subsequent growth and marvelous development. When Deinard arrived he found few scholars devoted to Hebrew letters and very few readers of Hebrew books. Libraries with collections of Hebraica had not as yet been even thought of. Compared with European centers whose libraries Deinard knew so well, having enriched them from his own collections so largely, the American soil appeared indeed barren and desolate. But Deinard, far from being discouraged, was only the more strengthened in his determination to labor in this virgin field. He therefore set himself the task of planting the seeds of Hebrew learning and literature in the new world. To accomplish this he exerted his efforts towards the encouragement of Hebrew writers to write and others to publish their compositions, and wherever he saw an opportunity to supply the lack of Hebrew books he did so. Shortly after his arrival he even ventured the publication of a Hebrew weekly *Ha-leummi*, the failure of his predecessors in Hebrew journalism in no wise deterring him. In fact, only twenty-three issues of *Ha-leummi* appeared, but his work of spreading a creative interest in Hebrew literature and of publishing on this continent continued, mostly at great financial sacrifice, until the time of his death.

Ephraim Deinard was a prolific writer, having over half a hundred Hebrew books to his credit. His style was biblical, pure and simple. He wrote upon a variety of subjects: history, bibliography, belles-lettres, literary criticism and Jewish problems. It may be noted that Deinard was vitally interested and active in Jewish public and spiritual life and particularly so in the Palestinian movement from its very inception, shortly

after the pogroms in Russia. *Hibbat Zion*, the forerunner of political Zionism, having its leadership in Odessa, where he had formerly lived, had brought him into close contact with those who led it; and Deinard knew *Erez Israel* well, having visited it for lengthy periods during his travels. In accordance with his wish to have another home in Zion he had acquired property in Ramleh, naming it *Gan Ephraim*, where he dwelt whenever his way brought him there. To Palestine again he devoted many books. It should also be noted that Deinard possessed a very combative spirit. His polemics, as they are represented in many of his works, reveal him as a man who knows no consideration for an opponent. His language was often vitriolic, using sometimes the most abusive terms, and when it came to controversies he showed no respect even for men of high standing in life and literature. A born critic with a faculty for discovering the incongruous everywhere, his dissatisfaction with human sociality often extended to the point of irascibility. Although in some cases truth may have been on his side and his sense of outrage justified, yet the form in which his views were presented could only but evoke antagonism towards him. Aside, however, from his invective, even those books are of interest, being well written and containing abundant information. To American Israel those of his writings that have bearing on the history of the Jews and literature in this country are of considerable value.

A still greater task which Deinard set himself and carried out successfully was the building up of Hebrew collections in great libraries as well as of interesting individual bibliophiles in acquiring rare Hebrew material. In this respect Ephraim Deinard stands out alone and even his avowed enemies would not deny him the credit for this great deed. And he was the best qualified person to propagate and promote such a project. Deinard was a true bibliographer and credited with the discovery of many *curiosa*. His flair for Hebraica, which carried him far and wide to many countries

of Europe, Asia and Africa, his phenomenal knowledge of the products of Hebrew typography and paleography, coupled with his extraordinary memory, enabled him to build up representative collections of ancient and modern Hebrew. He not only knew where to obtain Hebrew books which might be needed or desired. He also displayed unusual powers of persuasion in presenting the need of collections with a clearness and an expertness that inspired conviction. The first in this country to respond generously to his suggestions was the late Oscar S. Straus, whose donation formed an important addition to the Hebrew collection at Columbia University. The late Judge Mayer Sulzberger of Philadelphia became thereupon imbued with the idea of establishing a Hebrew library of his own and Deinard not only secured the material for it in the course of years but also issued a catalogue of it in 1896 under the title *Or Meir*. Deinard is responsible for the establishment of two libraries of Hebraica in San Francisco, one at the University of California at Berkeley and the other at the home of Adolph Sutro. The services of Deinard were secured in the gathering of Hebrew books and MSS. for the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, the New York Public Library and the Hebrew Union College at Cincinnati. This of course required much traveling and searching in foreign lands, a task to which Deinard had become accustomed.

But the Deinard collection which towers above all others is that deposited with the Library of Congress, the national library of the United States. The first of two collections, totalling about 15,000 volumes procured through the munificence of the late Jacob H. Schiff in 1912 and 1914, formed the nucleus of what is now the Semitic division of the Library of Congress. Two additional collections of about 6,000 volumes were purchased by the library from him in 1917 and 1921. Ever since, the Hebraica of the Library of Congress has greatly increased and now ranks favorably both in quantity and quality with that of any other in the great national

libraries. But Deinard was the man who made the suggestion to Schiff and who laid the foundation. Indeed, Deinard took a great pride in this collection, for as a patriotic American citizen and Jew it was his desire to see Hebrew letters well represented in the national library of the United States.

Shortly before his death Harvard University came into possession of his Hebrew collection of about 12,000 books through the munificence of Lucius Nathan Littauer.

Ephraim Deinard died in New York in June, 1930. He lived a long life and was active and useful until his last day. It may be mentioned that four years before he was "gathered to his forefathers" he had lost his eyesight but continued to write nevertheless, and the last books which he wrote while blind show the same erudition and masterful style, the same lively characteristics as do his previous works.

If today America can boast with pride of the richest collections of Hebrew books and MSS. in the world, it is largely due to the initiative and energy of Ephraim Deinard. His name as a builder of the Hebrew book in the United States will live in the annals of American Jewish history.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The following is an annotated list of Ephraim Deinard's Hebrew writings which have appeared in book form, and books and periodicals he edited arranged chronologically:

1. תולדות אב"ן רש"ף. הוא . . . רבן של כל בני מקרא (קראים)
ר' אברהם בר' שמואל פירקאוויץ . . . ווארשא [תרל"ה].

Warsaw, 1875.

31 p.

17 cm.

Biographical sketch of Abraham Firkovich (1786-1874).

2. ספר משא קרים כולל קורות בני ישראל בחצי האי קרים בכלל ותולדות הכוזרים, הקראים והקרימצאקים בפרט וכל אשר עברו עליהם, למיום בא זכרם בספרי דברי הימים עד ימינו אלה . . . ווארשא, תרל"ח.

Warsaw, 1878.

xxiv, 232 p.

21 cm.

A history of the Jews in the Crimea, with particular reference to the Chazars, the Karaites and the Krimchaki, partly based on MS. sources and tombstone inscriptions.

3. ספר מלחמת קרים יכלכל קורות כל דברי המלחמה... אשר לחמו מלכי הברית על העיר הבצורה סעוואסטאפאל בשנות 56-1853, גם יבואו בו תולדות ארמת העיר הזאת... ווארשא, תרל"ט.

Warsaw, 1879.

98 [2] p.

21 cm.

An account of the Crimean War and historical sketch of Sebastopol.

4. ספר מסע בחצי האי קרים, כולל מסעותי בחצי האי קרים ונוף טבריה, מלבוא ים השחור עד קצה ים האזאוו וערבת נאגאסק, כתיבת הערים החדשות והעתיקות... תכונת יושביהן, מעלליהם וכשרונותיהם ומצבם המדיני והמוסרי בכלל ומצב בני ישראל בפרט... ווארשא, תרל"ט-תר"מ.

Warsaw, 1879-80.

2 v.

21 cm.

A journey through the Crimean peninsula with notes of historic and ethnographic interest.

5. מסע בארץ הקדם ומורה דרך לכל הנוסעים לארץ הקדושה ומצרים... פרעסבורג, תרמ"ג.

Pressburg, 1883.

83 p.

21 cm.

Account of a trip to the Near East.

6. מסע באירופא יכלכל השקפה פרטית וכללית על דרכי בני ישראל באירופא... ובסופו מאמר אדות הקאלאניזאצין בארץ הקדושה... פרעסבורג, תרמ"ה.

Pressburg, 1885.

196 [2] p.

23 cm.

A journey through Europe; a review of the social and political status of the Jews in European countries and an essay on Jewish colonization in Palestine.

7. שאו נס ציונה. יפיץ אור על ענינים רבים בקורות הקאלא-ניזאטיאן בארץ הקדושה... פרעסבורג, תרמ"ו.

Pressburg, 1886.

24 p.

21 cm.

On the Jewish colonization in Palestine. Reprinted from מסע באירופא with special t.-p. and pagination.

8. הלאמי . . . מכתב עתי לעבודת האדמה, לחכמה ולספרות
ישראל. יצא לאור פעם אחת בשבוע.

שנה א'. א-כ"ג (י' טבת—ט"ו סיון, תרמ"ט)

New York, 1888-89.

Hebrew weekly.

Dec. 14, 1888–Apr. 25, 1889, printed in New York; May 6–June 14,
1889, printed in Newark.

9. ספר חכמת יהודה והוא ויכוחים שונים בין יהודים ונוצרים
בעניני האמונה . . . נאספו יחד מאת דוד ב"ר יכניה ונלוה לזה גם
שיר . . . מאת רבנו אברהם בן עזרא ז"ל הנמצא בכ"י בעיר אקספארד.
יצא לאור בהוספות ע"י אפרים דיינארד. ניוארק, תרמ"ט.

New York, 1889.

56 p.

17 cm.

Cover-title has imprint: Newark, תרנ"ב, נוארק, 1892.

A collection of *tu quoques* drawn from religious disputations be-
tween Jews and Christians by David Kahana; edited by Deinard
with additions. Includes a hitherto unpublished poem by Abraham
Ibn Ezra.

10. ספר הקונדס. חברו רב הדרבנים גאון הקונדסים, פטיש העץ,
רבן של כל בני הגולם, מרנא ורבנא הולל בר שובב וצוק"ל. חלק א'.
כמנהג פולין, זאמוט, ליטא, רייסען, גאליציען ורומעניען. נדפס בשנת
החמשים לפני בריאת העולם, פה סדום הבירה.

Newark, N. J., 1890.

200 p.

16 cm.

A parody.

Printed on paper of various colors.

11. הקונדס רבתא. חלק שני. כמנהג אשכנז, צרפת, ענגלאנד,
ארץ ישראל ואמעריקא, פה צבויים הבירה, בדפוס רזיאל המלאך . . .

Vol. 2 of the above, also printed on paper of various colors.

Only 50 copies extant, the remainder having been destroyed in a
fire at the bindery (see קהלת אמעריקא v. 2, p. 117).

12. ספר הפלודערזאק או מאורת צפעונים. גאזעטא כללית בער
כל העולם, והקורא בה בכונה יזכה לחיי עולם הזה.

Newark, N. J., 1890.

100 p.

16 cm.

A satire written in Hasidic style on certain phases of Jewish life.

13. עתידות ישראל. משא ציון. השקפה כללית על מצב ארץ
יהודה המדיני בכלל ועתידותיה לישראל לימים יוצרו . . . נוארק
[תרנ"א].

Newark, N. J., 1891.

2 v.

18 cm.

Essays on the political status of Palestine and its future for the Jews.

14. מלחמה לר' בעמלק. איסור כללי מכל גדולי גאוני ישראל בכל ארצות תבל נגד אתרוגי איי יון בכלל וקארפו בפרט... נוארק, תרנ"ב.

Newark, N. J., 1892.

viii, 64 p.

17 cm.

Rabbinical dicta banning the use of Grecian *ethrogim*, especially the products of the isle of Corfu.

15. ציון. יאיר נתיבות ציון ודרכי ספרות ישראל... שנה א', א (תרנ"ג).

New York, 1893.

Proposed periodical but only part of first number published.

16. אור מאיר כולל רשימת ספרי ישראל, כתבי יד ונדפסים הנמצאים בבית אוצר ספרים הגדול של... מאיר זולצבערגער... עם הערות, מאמרים ושירים מכתבי יד שונים... נויארק, תרנ"ז.

New York, 1896.

200 p.

21 cm.

Catalogue of the Old Hebrew manuscripts and printed books of the library of Judge Mayer Sulzberger in Philadelphia.

394 items listed.

17. זמרת עם הארץ. נעתקו מכ"י הגאון ר' בנימין משקלאוו... יצא לאור בפעם הראשונה... נויארק, תרנ"ו.

New York, 1896.

25 p.

22 cm.

At head of title: לקורות ישראל ברוסיה

Anti-Hasidiana.

Included in his ספר מפלגות בישראל

18. ספר מפלגות בישראל יכלכל שלשה מאמרים. המאמר הראשון: „זמרת עם הארץ"... המאמר השני: „כת השובתים" (סובאטניקי) בארץ רוסיה... והמאמר השלישי: „החסידות והרעפארם באמעריקא"... ניו יארק, תרנ"ט.

New York, 1899.

43 p.

22 cm.

Three essays: (a) the Hasidim; (b) the Subbotniki (Russian sabbatarian sect) and (c) American Reform Judaism.

19. כת השובתים או שומרי שבת (סובאטניקי) בלב רוסיה וקרקו...

New York, 1899.

8 p.

22 cm.

Reprinted from his ספר מפלגות בישראל

20. ילקוט אמעריקא. אספת מאמרי מדע שונים, כתובים בידי סופרי ישראל בארץ החדשה... נוארק [תרנ"ט].

Newark, N. J., 1899.

A collection of articles by American Hebrew writers which appeared in the monthly נר המערבי (New York, 1895-97).

21. זמיר עריצים (השני) נגד כת החסידים והמון קדושיהם נביא השקר. תוצאה שניה עם פתח דבר... נוארק [תרנ"ט].

Newark, N. J., 1899.

76 p.

16 x 6 cm.

See no. 24.

Printed on paper of various colors.

An anonymous diatribe against the Hasidim.

22. דברי הימים לציון ברוסיא משנת תרס-תרמח... קארני, תרס"ד.

Kearny, N. J., 1904.

2 v.

19 cm.

A history of the Palestinian movement in Russia during the years 1880-88.

23. חרב חדה כתובה בשפת אשכנז בידי... ר' ישראל לאבל... ונעתקה לעברית בידי אפרים דיינארד ונלוה אליה בסופה קיצור מספר זאת תורת הקנאות הנמצא בכ"י באוקספורד... קארני, תרסד.

Kearny, N. J., 1904.

24 p.

22 cm.

Anti-Hasidiana.

24. זמיר עריצים הראשון... יצא לאור שנית עם הקדמה... קארני, תרסד.

Kearny, N. J., 1904.

8, 43 p.

24 cm.

Anti-Hasidiana.

See no. 21.

25. ביטול עקרי הנוצרים נכתב בידי... ר' חסדאי קרשקש ונעתק לעברית בידי ר' יוסף בן רש"ט. יצא עתה לאור שנית, מוגה ומתוקן, ועם פתח דבר... קארני, תרסד.

Kearny, N. J., 1904.

96 p.

13 cm.

A new revised edition of Joseph Ibn Shem Tob's Hebrew translation of Hasdai Crescas' Refutation of the cardinal principles of the Christians.

Printed on green paper.

26. הודאת בעל דין, חברו דון דוד נשיא... עם פתח דבר בשם
„ישו הנוצרי לא היה ולא נברא“... קארני, תרס"ד.

Kearny, N. J., 1904.

16, 63 p.

13 cm.

A revised edition of David Nasi's polemic work against Christianity with an essay on Jesus.

Printed on green paper.

The entire edition was destroyed by fire, with the exception of one copy. (See קהלת אמעריקא v. 2., p. 45.)

27. מגלה עפה או תוכחת מגולה. ריב לישראל עם רבני וחסידי
זמננו . . . מאת ר' יצחק בער לעוויןזאהן . . . עם פתח דבר מאת
המו"ל... קארני [תרס"ד]

Kearny, N. J., 1904.

2 l., 28 p.

23 cm.

Edition of an unpublished MS. against Hasidism by Isaac Baer Levinsohn.

28. רשימת כל ספרי ישראל אשר נדפסו באמעריקא בשפת עבר...
ובסופה שתי קינות על הנאון חיד"א... קארני, התרסד.

Kearny, N. J., 1904.

32 p.

13 cm.

List of Hebrew books printed in the United States.

29. מסתרי ניו יארק או התפתחות התנועה הלאומית באמעריקא.
מאמר בקרת... ניו יארק, תרס"ט.

New York, 1909.

viii, 10 p.

21 cm.

On the development of the Jewish national movement in America.

30. ספרת ישראל באמעריקא. מחלקה ראשונה, מאמרים שונים.
מחלקה שניה, רשימת כל ספרי ישראל בעברית שנדפסו באמעריקא
משנת תצ"ה עד היום... יפו-ניוארק, תרע"ג.

Jaffa, New York, 1910-13.

2 v.

24 cm.

A bibliography of Hebrew books printed in the United States, 571 titles listed.

31. הבו תמים. קול מציון אל צירי הקאנגרעסס הציוני בווען... ירושלם, תרע"ג.

Jerusalem, 1913.

40 p.

19 cm.

32. מטבעות היהודים. ספר כולל תלדות המטבעות בישראל עם ציורים תמונות ולוח הא"ב מאת שמואל רפאלי... ופתה דבר, תורה מציון" מהמו"5... ירושלם, תרע"ג.

Jerusalem, 1913.

vi, 199 p. 35 plates,

23 cm.

A history of the coins of the Jews, by Samuel Raffaeli with a preface by Deinard.

33. שבלים בודדות. אספת מאמרים... מדפים בודדים כ"י ונדפסים, דאקומענטים, תעודות, שטרות, שירים, קינות וכדומה... ירושלם [תרע"ה].

Jerusalem, 1915.

2 l., 182 p.

23 cm.

Only 100 copies printed.

34. מעשה נסים אשר בו יספר נפלאות ה' אשר הפליא לעשות לעמו ישראל באנקונא משנת התקנ"ג עד תקנ"ז מאתי... יעקב בלא"א מצליח חיים כהן... יצא לאור מכ"י אנקונא... ירושלם, תרע"ה.

Jerusalem, 1915.

16 p.

23 cm.

An account of the anti-Jewish riots in Ancona in the years 1793-97. Included in his בודדים

35. עתיקות יהודה... כל הספרים בספרת ישראל שנדפסו אחרי שנת ר"ס היקרים במציאות בכל הזמנים... ירושלם, תרע"ה.

Jerusalem, 1915.

44 p.

30 cm.

A bibliography of rare Hebrew books issued after 1500.

36. פחרו בציון חטאים. סודות מן החדר על דבר הציונית הטהורה... ארלינגטאן [תרע"ו].

Arlington, N. J., 1917.

2 l., 128 p.

23 cm.

A criticism of the activities of Zionist leaders in Palestine.

37. ציון בעד מי? בעד באלשעוויקים או יהודים? ... ארלינגטאן, תרע"ח.

Arlington, N. J., 1918.

2 l., 190 p.

23 cm.

38. מהאט סופרים נגד המרחיבים המרחיבים בעלי "מהלך החדש", "הסגנון החדש" ו"העברי החדש" ... סט. לואיס, תרע"ח.

St. Louis, 1918.

16 p.

23 cm.

Reprinted from ציון בעד מי with special t.-p. and pagination.

39. משגי עורים. ראשית השכלת החסידים בתקופת ראדקינזאן ותוצאותיה בספרות החיים ... סט. לואיס, תרע"ט.

St. Louis, 1919.

54 p.

23 cm.

Literary and biographical notes on Modern Hebrew writers.

Included in his זכרונות בת עמי v. 2.

40. זכרונות בת עמי ... לקורות היהודים והיהדות ברוסיה במשך קרוב לשבעים שנה ... סט. לואיס, תר"ף.

St. Louis, 1920.

2 v.

23 cm.

Memoirs.

41. ארכת בת-עמי. ההכנות לקאנגרעס הרבנים בדבר יסוד הסנהדרין בציון ... סט. לואיס [תר"ף].

St. Louis, 1920.

100 p.

23 cm.

42. חרב לד' ולישראל נגד הספר "ישו הנוצרי ותורתו" מאת ד"ר יוסף קלויזנער ... סט. לואיס, תרפ"ג.

St. Louis, 1923.

160 p.

22 cm.

A criticism of Joseph Klausner's "Jesus of Nazareth."

43. מכתב גלוי לישו הנוצרי. מחאה ... סט. לואיס [תרפ"ד]

St. Louis, 1924.

52 p.

23 cm.

Anti-Christian polemics.

44. לקורות היהודים באמעריקא. הישוב בקארני—ארלינגטאן (נ. ד.) ...

St. Louis, 1925.

32 p.

23 cm.

An account of the first settlement of Jews in Kearny-Arlington, N. J.

45. קהלת אמעריקא בשני חלקים. חלק א' יכיל מאמרים אדות הספרות בכלל ובאמעריקא בפרט. וחלק ב' יכיל רשימת כל הספרים אשר נדפסו בארצות הברית מראשית יסוד דפוס עברי בארץ הזאת בשנת תצ"ה (1735) עד שנת תרפ"ו (1926) ובקרת קצרה על רוב הספרים... סט. לואיס, תרפ"ו.

St. Louis, 1926.

2 v.

27 cm.

A bibliography of Hebrew books printed in America from 1735 to 1926.

989 items listed.

46. צלם בהיכל... ונלוה אליו... מאמר... בשם „המשומדים בישראל“...

St. Louis, 1926.

iv, 184 p.

23 cm.

A criticism of Joseph Klausner and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise for alleged pro-Jesus sentiments.

47. מלחמת תוגרמה בארץ ישראל... סט. לואיס, תרפ"ו.

St. Louis, 1926.

240 p.

25 cm.

Turkish rule in Palestine during the World War.

48. דביר אפרים יכיל תכן אוצר ספרים הגדול אשר אצר... אפרים דיינארד... ונלוה אליו בסופו מאמר „חכמת ישראל והביבליא-גראפיה העברית“ וגם רשימת חפצים עתיקים...

St. Louis, 1926.

viii, 40 p.

30 cm.

49. עלטה. יוכיה באותות נאמנים... כי ספר הזהר הוא מזויף... וכי הקבלה היא אילית... והחסידות הבעשט"ית היא קאטאליציזם חדש במעטפה עברית... סט. לואיס, תרפ"ז.

St. Louis, 1927.

2 v.

25 cm.

Vol. 2 has special t.-p.: ספר עם תועי לבב

50. מגלת סתרים יספר לדור פעולות... ר' משה מונטיפיורי הטובות גם הרעות... ובסופו מפות העתקה פוטוגרפית מהמחאה בכתביד החותמים בירושלם...

New York, 1928.

6 double l., 2 l.

35 cm.

Printed on double leaves of gold paper, folded at upper edge.

Only 50 copies printed.

51. חרפת בריטניה. כתם שחור... על מצח בריטניה, בהונותה את
ישראל לגזול ממנו את כבשת הרש (ארץ ישראל)... נויארק, תרפ"ט.

New York, 1929.

149 [2] p.

23 cm.

A criticism of Great Britain's policy in Palestine.

52. היער באין דב. יוכיח באותות ובמופתים... כי... ישו
הנוצרי לא היה ולא נברא... סט. לואיס, תרפ"ט.

St. Louis, 1929.

2 l., 238 p.

25 cm.

An examination of the evidence as to the existence of Jesus.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF MAX JAMES KOHLER.

BY EDWARD D. COLEMAN, A. B.

Most of the writings of the late Max J. Kohler can be readily divided into several definite categories. For this reason, and in order to make this more evident, it was deemed best to arrange the present list, first, into three such ascertainable divisions, and to conclude with five lesser sections.

The first class is devoted to American Jewish history. Here are included nearly all his papers which appeared in the *Publications* of our Society, and his writings in other sources which in any way touch upon American institutions, personages and events of Jewish interest. It ought to be permitted, as it is pertinent, to point out that his first contribution in this field was written in 1891, when he was twenty years of age, and that the last one appeared posthumously in 1935 in the "Dictionary of American Biography," proof positive, if any is needed, of his lifelong devotion to the study and elucidation of our own American history.

The second division is labelled Immigration. Here are entered his papers in learned periodicals, articles in the popular press, Chinese exclusion laws in this country, and a number of selected immigration briefs. At the end of each brief, at the suggestion of Albert M. Friedenberg, was recorded the judicial decision, as given in the Federal and United States Reports.

The third division is called Public Rights. This embraces his works on the protection of minority rights, maintenance of civil and religious liberty, guarantees of Jewish rights at international congresses, anti-Semitism, the Dreyfus affaire, and the practices aimed against the Jews in present-day Germany.

All his remaining works, which could not properly be included in any of the above three divisions, are placed in a fourth section, called *Varia*. This includes his youthful efforts, prize essays at college, book reviews, the treatment of the Jew in English literature, English Jewish history, and other miscellaneous papers.

The fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth sections are Works edited by him, unpublished papers delivered by him at the annual meetings of the American Jewish Historical Society during 1906-1933, a list of authors who have acknowledged help from him, and Biographical, which consists of a selected number of articles, biographical or appreciative in nature. Each section, except the seventh, is arranged chronologically and alphabetically within any given year according to the source from which the entry was taken, excepting that items available in book or reprint form were placed at the beginning of the year's work. An index, partial only in scope, will be found at the end.

From 1931 till his decease M. J. Kohler served as editor of the *Americana* section of the projected *Standard Jewish Encyclopedia*, which is to appear in ten or more volumes. Not only was he in charge of this important section but he himself prepared many substantial papers to be included there under his name. The editors of the Encyclopedia have submitted to us a long list of such articles. The compiler regrets that these cannot be entered bibliographically in the present list. It is not improper, however, to record this fact here.

To Miss Lili Kohler and to his friend, Mr. Frank A. Peterson, the compiler is much indebted. Without the continuous helpfulness of Miss Kohler and the aid given by Mr. Peterson in examining long files of periodicals this list might not have attained that degree of completeness which it now possesses.

ABBREVIATIONS USED.

- AAAJ. American Asiatic Association, Journal. New York, 1898-
 ABAJ. American Bar Association, Journal. Baltimore, 1915-
 AER. American economic review. Boston, 1911-
 AH. American Hebrew, New York.
 AI. American Israelite, Cincinnati, O.
 AJC.AR. American Jewish Committee, Annual report. New York,
 1906/07-
 AJHS.P. American Jewish Historical Society, Publications. Balti-
 more, 1893-
 AJIL. American journal of international law. New York, 1907-
 AJYB. American Jewish year book. Philadelphia, 5660 (1899)-
 ALR. American law review. Boston [etc.] 1866-
 AZJ. Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums. Leipzig, 1837-1922.
 BBM. B'nai B'rith magazine. Chicago, Cincinnati, 1908-
 BBN. B'nai B'rith news. *See* BBM.
 DAB. Dictionary of American biography. New York, 1928-
 FLIS.IRCS. Foreign Language Information Service, International
 release clip sheets. New York.
 JDB. Jewish daily bulletin. New York, 1924-1935.
 JCh. Jewish chronicle, London.
 JCo. Jewish comment, Baltimore.
 JEn. Jewish encyclopedia. New York, 1901-1906.
 JExp. Jewish exponent, Philadelphia.
 JFo. Jewish forum, New York.
 JQR. Jewish quarterly review, London and Philadelphia.
 JTr. Jewish tribune, Portland, Ore., and New York.
 Judaeans The Judaeans. Judaeans addresses selected. New York,
 1899-1933.
 MMo. Menorah monthly magazine. New York, 1886-1907.
 NE. National encyclopedia. New York [1933]. 11 v.
 NYCOLA. New York County Lawyers' Association.
 NYDT. New York daily tribune.
 NYLJ. New York law journal. New York, 1889-
 NYT. New York times.
 NYTBR. New York times book review. 1896-
 RA. Reform advocate, Chicago.
 UAHC.AR. Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Annual re-
 port. Cincinnati, 1873/74-
 US.C.HR.CIN. United States. Congress. House of Representatives.
 Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

U.S.C.S.C. United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on Immigration.

U.S.I.C.R. United States. Immigration Commission. Reports Washington, 1911.

An asterisk * preceding a note means that the item so annotated is reprinted in MJK's posthumous *Immigration and aliens in the United States*, New York, 1936 (see item 336a). Whenever the reprinted article is captioned in the volume substantially different from the original, it is so pointed out in the note.

I. AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY.

1891

History of the Beth-El Congregation [New York]. [1]

AH. 1891. v. 48, p. 158-161.

On the occasion of the dedication of the new building of the Temple, Sept. 18, 1891.

1892

[James Russell] Lowell and the Jews in New York. [2]

AH. 1892. v. 49, p. 223.

As to the Jewish ancestry of certain Knickerbocker families, see *ibid.*, p. 201.

1893

Our early presidents on the Jews. [3]

AH. 1893. v. 52, p. 357-358.

Two documents by Washington, two by John Adams, one by Jefferson, and two by Madison are reprinted.

Material for American Jewish history. [4]

AH. 1893. v. 53, p. 117-118.

Urging the collecting of such data.

Beginnings of New York Jewish history. [5]

AJHS.P. 1893. no. 1, p. 41-48.

American Jewish Historical Society. [6]

Jewish messenger. New York, 1893-94. v. 74, Dec. 29, p. 6 ;
v. 75, Jan. 5, p. 4-5.

Brief synopses of the papers presented at the 2nd annual meeting,
Dec. 1893, are given.

1894

Rebecca Franks ; an American Jewish belle of the last century.
New York: Philip Cowen, 1894, 27 p. 8°. [7]

Repr.: *AH.*, 1894, v. 56, p. 19-22, 59-61, 90-92.

New York Jews in the Mexican War. [8]

AH. 1894. v. 54, p. 433.

Oscar S. Straus on " [Roger Williams] the pioneer of religious
liberty ". [9]

AH. 1894. v. 55, p. 141-143.

Dr. [Meyer] Kayserling on " The Jews and the discovery of
America ". [10]

AH. 1894. v. 55, p. 177-179.

On the occasion of Kayserling's *Christopher Columbus and the
participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries*,
New York, 1894.

[George William] Curtis on " What we owe to the Jews " [in
Harper's new monthly magazine, 1877, v. 55, p. 300]. [11]

AH. 1894. v. 55, p. 273-274.

See editorial, *ibid.*, p. 271.

See also G. W. Curtis in *Harper's weekly*, 1863, v. 7, p. 130.

Morais' " The Jews of Philadelphia ". [A review.] [12]

AH. 1894. v. 56, p. 157-159.

Simon Wolf's recent lecture and forthcoming work on the American Jew as patriot. [13]

AH. 1894. v. 56, p. 209.

Phases of Jewish life in New York before 1800. [14]

AJHS.P. 1894. no. 2, p. 77-100.

Appendices: I. Jews in West Indian and neighboring ports. II. Dr. Fishell's chronological notes of the history of the Jews in America.

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.

The Lopez and Rivera families of Newport. [15]

AJHS.P. 1894. no. 2, p. 101-106.

Jonas Phillips. [16]

AJHS.P. 1894. No. 2, p. 177-180.

1895

[Review of] The American Jew as patriot, soldier and citizen, by Simon Wolf. [17]

AH. 1895. v. 58, p. 144-145.

Phases of Jewish life in New York before 1800. II. [18]

AJHS.P. 1895. no. 3, p. 73-86.

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.

1896

Incidents illustrative of American Jewish patriotism. [19]

AJHS.P. 1896. no. 4, p. 81-99.

Contents: Colonel David S. Franks. Chevalier de Levis. Lopez and Hart of Newport. Some New York Jewish patriots. Some Baltimore Jewish patriots. South Carolina Jewish patriots. Mordecai Sheftall of Savannah, Ga.

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.

Bibliography of Writings of Max James Kohler—Coleman. 171

Paper presented at the third annual meeting of the Society, Dec. 1894. It was included in Simon Wolf, *The American Jew as patriot, soldier and citizen*, Philadelphia, 1895, p. 27-43, and in briefer form it appeared in *AH.*, 1894-95, v. 56, p. 237, 265-266, 298, 330-331.

Notes. [20]

AJHS.P. 1896. no. 4, p. 219-225.

Contents: Further correspondence of early American presidents (Thomas Jefferson and James Madison) and Jewish citizens. Comments on incident cited from Picciotto's *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish history*, p. 389. The Mercado family in Barbadoes, 1660-1685. Samuel Judah of Montreal, 1776.

Jews and Judaism in America. [21]

In: Halliday, S. B., and D. S. Gregory. *The church in America and its baptism of fire*. New York, 1896. p. 574-588.

1897

The Jews and the American anti-slavery movement. [22]

AJHS.P. 1897. no. 5, p. 137-155.

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.

Reviewed by Israel Abrahams in *JCh.*, 1897, June 4, p. 25 (reprinted in *RA.*, 1897, v. 13, p. 346-347).

Without some of the foot-notes it had appeared in *MMo.*, 1896, v. 20, p. 143-159 (and in that form issued as a separate).

The Jews in Newport. [23]

AJHS.P. 1897. no. 6, p. 61-80.

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.

Extracts from this paper, read before the Society's 5th annual meeting, Jan. 1897, were printed in *AH.*, 1897, v. 61, p. 97-100.

Civil status of the Jews in colonial New York. [24]

AJHS.P. 1897. no. 6, p. 81-111.

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.

Rebecca Franks; a Jewish belle of Revolutionary times. (Biographies of great American Jews and Jewesses.) [25]

Helpful thoughts. 1897. v. 2, p. 88-89.

1898

Judah Touro. (Biographies of great American Jews and Jewesses. no. 4.) [26]

Helpful thoughts. 1898. v. 3, p. 4.

1899

Chas. P. Daly; a tribute to his memory. New York, 1899. 10 p. 12°. [27]

Repr.: *AH.*, 1899, v. 65, p. 611-612.

Colonel David S. Franks, an American Jewish patriot of the Revolution. [28]

JCo. 1899. v. 9, Sept. 29, p. 1-2; Oct. 6, p. 1-2.

Cf. editorial comment, *ibid.*, p. 6.

"Janice Meredith." [29]

JCo. 1899. v. 9, Oct. 13, p. 7.

"I . . . suggest that Mr. Ford based the career of his heroine, Janice Meredith, upon that of . . . Rebecca Franks."

Some early American Jewish composers, musicians and actors. [30]

JExp. 1899. v. 28, Jan. 6, p. 1-2.

Extracts from a paper delivered at the 7th annual meeting of the *AJHS.*, Dec. 1898.

The Jews in early New York. The English period, 1664-1777. [31]

Judaeans. 1899. v. 1, p. 154-166.

The Dutch period, 1626-1664, by Albert Ulmann, precedes it, *ibid.*, p. 140-154.

Reprinted in *AH.*, 1899, v. 64, p. 551-554.

Read at the 7th meeting (Historical night) of the *Judaeans*, Jan. 3, 1899.

1900

Antonio [Aaron] de Montezinos and the theory that the American Indians are the lost ten tribes. [32]

Typewritten Ms. 7, 5, 6 f.

Presented before the 9th annual meeting of the Society, Dec. 1900.
See *AJHS.P.*, no. 9, p. xiv.

Appendices: 1. An account by de Montezinos of his travels in America.—2. J. Winsor, *Narrative and critical history of America*, vol. 1, p. 115-116, Alleged Jewish migration. Notes to Winsor.—3. Bibliography.

Some early American Zionist projects. [33]

AJHS.P. 1900. no. 8, p. 75-118.

Appendices: I. From a paper on "American elements in the Re-Settlement," by Lucien Wolf. II. Mordecai M. Noah's Ararat project.

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.

Read at the 6th annual meeting of the Society, Dec. 1897.

It was printed previously in *AH.*, 1898, v. 62, p. 647-651, 713-717. Without the appendices it appeared in *MMo.*, 1900, v. 29, p. 161-176.

Reviewed by Israel Abrahams in *JCh.*, 1900, Aug. 17, p. 15; and noted by M. Kayserling in *AZJ.*, 1901, Band 65, p. 336.

A lecture on this topic was given by MJK before the Zionist Council of Philadelphia, March 25, 1905. See abstract in *Public ledger*, Philadelphia, March 26, 1905.

[Review of] Trial of Gabriel de Granada, edited by Cyrus Adler. [34]

JCo. 1900. v. 10, Feb. 9, p. 1-2.

The Jewish cemetery at Newport. [35]

JCo. 1900. v. 11, April 27, p. 1-2.

Reprinted in *Jewish daily news* (English department), New York, 1900, June 8, p. 8; June 10, p. 8.

The American Jewish Historical Society; report of ninth annual meeting in Philadelphia. [36]

JCo. 1900. v. 12, Dec. 28, p. 1-2.

1901

Menasseh ben Israel and some unpublished pages of American history. [New York, 1901?] 16 p. 8°. [37]

Repr.: *AH.*, 1901, v. 69, p. 625-631.

Occasioned by the appearance of *Menasseh ben Israel's mission to Oliver Cromwell*, edited by Lucien Wolf, London, 1901.

Straus's "Origin of Republican form of government in the United States", New York, 1901. [38]

AH. 1901. v. 69, p. 505-508.

Jews and the American anti-slavery movement. II. [39]

AJHS.P. 1901. no. 9, p. 45-56.

Parts of this paper were reprinted by G. A. Kohut, as Appendix 2 in his *The Jamaica anti-slavery movement and the Jews*, in *JExp.*, 1907, v. 44, March 29, p. 7.

The German-Jewish migration to America. [40]

AJHS.P. 1901. no. 9, p. 87-105.

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.

Note [on D. Philipson's "The Jewish pioneers of the Ohio Valley"]. [41]

AJHS.P. 1901. no. 9, p. 153.

Letter from John Forsyth, Secretary of State, to David Porter, U. S. Minister to Turkey, August 17, 1840. [42]

AJHS.P. 1901. no. 9, p. 153-154.

Chas. P. Daly [a necrology]. [43]

AJHS.P. 1901 no. 9, p. 157-160.

Columbus in his relations to the Jews; part played by Jews in the discovery of America. [44]

JCo. 1901. v. 12, Jan. 18, p. 1-3.

Reprinted in *Jewish gazette* (English supplement), New York, 1901, no. 8, Feb. 22, p. 4-5.

American-Jewish history. [45]

JCo. 1901. v. 13, July 12, p. 2-5.

A summation of the articles of American interest in the *JEn.*, v. 1.

Lorenzo Da Ponte; poet, composer and man of letters. [46]

JCo. 1901. v. 13, Aug. 9, p. 1-2.

Ambrosius, Moses, p. 490.—Andrada, Salvador d', p. 578.—
Antislavery movement in America, p. 649-650.—Antislavery
movement and the Jews, p. 650-652. [47-50]

JEn. 1901. v. 1.

An American Jewish historical exhibition. [51]

Jewish messenger. New York, 1901. v. 89, June 28, p. 7-8.

1902

Jewish activity in American colonial commerce. [52]

AJHS.P. 1902. no. 10, p. 47-64.

Reprinted as a separate.

Paper originally read before the Society, at the 4th annual meeting, Jan. 1896. See *AH.*, 1896, v. 58, p. 505 et seq. Rewritten and presented anew, Jan. 1902.

Luis de Santangel and Columbus [and other notes regarding
Columbus and the Jews]. [53]

AJHS.P. 1902. no. 10, p. 159-163.

Miscellaneous [notes]. [54]

AJHS.P. 1902. no. 10, p. 170-172.

Isaac M. Wise and the poet Longfellow. A supplementary note to American Zionist projects. Dr. Heinrich Loewe's note in *Die Welt* regarding M. M. Noah's Ararat.

Jewish activity in American commerce. [55]

JCh. 1902. Jan. 10, p. 19.

Synopsis of an address delivered before the Philadelphia Y.M.H.A., Dec. 22, 1901.

American Jewish Historical Society meeting. [56]

JCo. 1902. v. 14, Feb. 7, p. 1-3.

About the meeting of Jan. 30, 1902. Cf. editorial, *ibid.*, p. 8.

Ararat, a city of refuge, p. 74-75.—Barsimson (or Barsimsom, Bersimson, and Barstinsen), Jacob, p. 645-646. [v. 3] Benjamin, Judah Philip, p. 28-31. [57-59]

JEn. 1902. v. 2, 3.

The American Jewish Historical Society. [60]

Modern view. St. Louis, 1902. v. 2, April 3, p. 8-9.

1903

Phases in the history of religious liberty in America, with special reference to the Jews. [61]

AJHS.P. 1903. no. 11, p. 53-73.

Sub-title reads: The Virginia Act Establishing Religious Liberty and the emancipation of the Jews in Europe.

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.

See Moise Schwab, *French point of view*, in *JCo.*, 1904, v. 19, June 17, p. 4-5.

The Franks Family as British army contractors. [62]

AJHS.P. 1903. no. 11, p. 181-184.

Rebecca Franks as a writer. [63]

AJHS.P. 1903. no. 11, p. 184-186.

Daniel Webster and the Jews. [64]

AJHS.P. 1903. no. 11, p. 186-187.

M. M. Noah. [65]

AJHS.P. 1903. no. 11, p. 188.

M. M. Hays. [66]

AJHS.P. 1903. no. 11, p. 189.

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Rebecca Gratz. [67]

AJHS.P. 1903. no. 11, p. 189-190.

Jews in America. [68]

Encyclopedia Americana. 1903. v. 9.

Reprinted in the editions of 1919, 1925, 1928 and 1932, v. 16, p. 131-137.

American Jewish patriots. II. Judah P. Benjamin. [69]

Helpful thoughts. 1903. v. 8, p. 226-227.

The American Jewish Historical Society meeting. [70]

JCo. 1903. v. 16, Feb. 20, p. 1-5.

An account of the 11th annual meeting, Feb. 12, 1903, and abstracts of the papers delivered.

Cuba, p. 380-381.—Daly, Charles Patrick, p. 414-415. [71-72]

JEn. 1903. v. 4.

1904

The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Jewish settlement in New York. [73]

Aid society journal. Brooklyn, N. Y., 1904. v. 1, October, p. 1-2.

This journal was published by the Aid Society of the Jewish Hospital, Brooklyn.

Judah P. Benjamin; statesman and jurist. [74]

AJHS.P. 1904. no. 12, p. 63-85.

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.

"There is no adequate life of Judah P. Benjamin. Possibly the best account of him is the sketch by Max J. Kohler in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 12,"—Edward Channing, *A history of the United States*, New York, 1921-26, v. 6, p. 280.

Jamaica. [75]

JEn. 1904. v. 7, p. 66-67.

The American Jewish Historical Society. [76]

New era illustrated magazine. 1904. v. 4, Jan., p. 39-43.

1905

[Introduction to] Jew and Gentile, by Henry Ward Beecher. [77]

AH. 1905. v. 76, p. 423-427.

Appeared also in *MMo.*, 1905, v. 38, p. 129-140.

The Ms. of this sermon, delivered on June 24, 1877, on the occasion of the Stewart-Hilton-Seligman incident at Saratoga, N. Y., is in possession of the *AJHS*.

In memoriam: Babette Kohler [mother of Kaufmann Kohler]. [78]

AH. 1905. v. 77, p. 162.

Report of the Committee on Indexing American Jewish Periodicals of the American Jewish Historical Society. [79]

AJHS.P. 1905. no. 13, p. xix-xxiii.

Prepared jointly with Albert M. Friedenberg.

Phases in the history of religious liberty in America, with particular reference to the Jews. II. [80]

AJHS.P. 1905. no. 13, p. 7-36.

Contents: a) Development of the law concerning competency and legal credit of Jewish witnesses; b) A Georgia decision of 1783-4 concerning the Jews and contemporary criticism thereon; c) Jewish protests against sectarian Thanksgiving Day proclamations.

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.

Judah Touro; merchant and philanthropist. [81]

AJHS.P. 1905. no. 13, p. 93-111.

Reviewed by Israel Abrahams in *JCh.*, 1906, July 13, p. 42.

The Jew in American history. [82]

American monthly review of reviews. 1905. v. 32, p. 556-560.

New York (city)†, p. 259-283.—Newport ‡, p. 294-296.
[v. 10] Ponte. Lorenzo Da (Jeremiah Conegliano), p. 124-125. [83-85]

JEn. 1905. v. 9, 10.

[Meyer] Kayserling. [86]

JExp. 1905. v. 41, July 14, p. 7.

Résumé of the work of Kayserling in the field of American Jewish history.

Lorenzo Da Ponte. [87]

New era illustrated magazine. 1905. v. 6, p. 465-468.

Jews in New-York 250 years; tremendous growth in their numbers and their wealth. [88]

NYDT. April 23, 1905, part 4, p. 1, 5. illus.

1906

The Executive Committee on the American Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration addressed the following letter to the Jewish Historical Society of England [Prof. Dr. H. Gollancz, president] on the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Whitehall Conference. November 22, 1905. [89]

AJHS.P. 1906. no. 14, p. 236-241.

Signed jointly with Jacob H. Schiff, as Chairman.

Under the title *America to England* it had been printed in *AH.*, 1905, v. 78, p. 13-14.

† Part of this article was reprinted, under the title *The Jews in New York prior to 1812*, in New York, Executive Committee in charge of the celebration of the settlement of the Jews in the United States, *Notes relating to the celebration*, [New York, 1905] p. 9-21.

‡ Written jointly with Leon Huhner.

The future of the American Jewish historian. [90]

JCo. 1906. v. 23, May 4, p. 1-2.

The arguments for and against MJK's proposition that the Society concern itself with general Jewish history.

Colonel David S. Franks. [91]

Magazine of history with notes and queries. 1906. v. 4, p. 63-72.

"Bibliography," p. 72.

1907

The early Jews of Newport. [92]

AH. 1907. v. 81, p. 223.

Newport meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society.
Details of the proceedings. [93]

AH. 1907. v. 81, p. 246-247.

The 15th annual meeting, July 1907.

Some Jewish factors in the settlement of the West. [94]

AJHS.P. 1907. no. 16, p. 23-35.

Reprinted as a separate.

Benjamin Levy. [95]

AJHS.P. 1907. no. 16, p. 187.

Jews of Georgia. [96]

AJHS.P. 1907. no. 16, p. 187.

1909

Mrs. Dr. David Einhorn. [97]

AH. 1909. v. 85, p. 63.

Biographic sketch of Julie Ochs Einhorn, widow of David Einhorn.

The Hon. Simon Wolf slighted; protest against omission of Mr. Wolf's name from report sent out by American Jewish Committee. [98]

AH. 1909. v. 86, p. 178.

Cf. editorial "Regret", *ibid.*, p. 184. See also *JCo.*, 1909, v. 30, p. 170, 181, and "More complications", *ibid.*, p. 166.

Dr. Rodrigo Lopez, Queen Elizabeth's Jewish physician, and his relations to America. [99]

AJHS.P. 1909. no. 17, p. 9-25.

A supplementary note on the "Jews in the diplomatic correspondence of the United States". [100]

AJHS.P. 1909. no. 17, p. 200-203.

A memorial of Jews to Parliament concerning Jewish participation in colonial trade, 1696. [101]

AJHS.P. 1909. no. 18, p. 123-127.

Reprinted as a separate.

1910

The U. S. Census Bureau's estimate of Jewish population of 1790. [102]

AJHS.P. 1910. no. 19, p. 178.

Early Jewish solicitors in London and Jamaica. [103]

AJHS.P. 1910. no. 19, p. 179-180.

See item 461.

The Galveston case; correspondence between Simon Wolf and Secretary Cable. Legal aspect by Max J. Kohler. [104]

JExp. 1910. v. 51, Aug. 5, p. 1-2, 8.

See also item 223.

1911

One decade of the [Industrial] Removal office. [105]

AH. 1911. v. 88, p. 637-638.

Unpublished correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and some American Jews. [106]

AJHS.P. 1911. no. 20, p. 11-30.

The Industrial Removal Office's first decade. [107]

Jewish charities. Baltimore, 1911. v. 1, April, p. 7-8.

1912

The proposed incorporation of the New York Jewish Community. [108]

AI. 1912. v. 58, May 16, p. 5.

The proposal is here objected to. A letter by MJK to the Judiciary Committee of the New York Assembly is reproduced.

Reprinted in *Jewish criterion*, Pittsburgh, 1912, v. 34, May 24, p. 4. See editorial *ibid.*, p. 8.

The Jews in New York City. [109]

World. New York, 1912. March 24, magazine sect., p. 3. ports., illus. (Cosmopolitan New York series. no. 3.).

1913

The Jewish population of the United States. [110]

AH. 1913. v. 92, p. 581.

In memoriam: Isaac Weingart. [111]

AH. 1913. v. 94, p. 77.

[Review of] History of the Jews in America, by Peter Wiernik. [112]

Independent. New York, 1913. v. 74, p. 823-824.

Biographical sketch of Dr. K. Kohler. [113]

In: *Studies in Jewish literature issued in honor of Professor Kaufmann Kohler* . . . Berlin, 1913. p. 1-10.

Issued also as a separate, with cover-title.

1914

The death of Prof. [Samuel] Weingart. [114]

AH. 1914. v. 95, p. 443.

An early American Hebrew-Christian agricultural colony. [115]

AJHS.P. 1914. no. 22, p. 184-186.

Reprinted in *AI.*, 1913, v. 59, March 6, p. 1.

1915

Twenty-five years activity of the Baron de Hirsch Fund. [116]

AH. 1915. v. 96, p. 491-492.

Cf. editorial, *ibid.*, p. 500.

In memoriam: Alonzo Rothschild. [117]

AH. 1915. v. 97, p. 643.

A. Rothschild, 1862-1915, author of "Lincoln, master of man".

The Union and kindred organizations. [118]

UAHC.AR. 1915. no. 41, p. 7722-7727.

Reprinted in *Union bulletin*, Cincinnati, 1915, v. 5, May, p. 13-15.

In a symposium on that topic, at the 24th Council of the Union.

1916

An influential leader; tribute to Simon Wolf. [119]

AH. 1916. v. 99, p. 84-875.

Jewish disabilities in the Balkan states. American contributions towards their removal, with particular reference to the Congress of Berlin. [120]

AJHS.P. 1916. no. 24, p. 1-153.

With the collaboration of Simon Wolf.

Presented at the 24th annual meeting of the Society, Feb. 1916.

A special edition, v, 169 p., was issued in 1916, under the imprint of the American Jewish Committee.

Reviewed by "the Roumanian Jew" in *AH.*, 1917, v. 100, p. 744-745; by George H. Moses in *American historical review*, 1917, v. 22, p. 708; *ALR.*, 1916, v. 50, p. 796-797; editorially in *BBN.*, 1916, v. 9, Sept., p. 8-9; by Samuel J. Harris in *Hebrew Union College monthly*, 1917, v. 3, p. 103-104; editorially in *JCo.*, 1916, v. 48, Sept. 29, p. 6; by Ludwig Geiger, under the title *Zur Geschichte der Juden in den Balkanstaaten*, in *MGWJ.*, 1918, Jahrg. 62, p. 57-60; in *NYT.BR.*, Oct. 15, 1916, p. 434 or p. 10; by Arthur Meyerowitz in *RA.*, 1916, v. 52, p. 265-266; and by Bruno Lasker in *Survey*, 1917, v. 37, p. 438-439.

1917

An important European mission to investigate American immigration conditions and John Quincy Adams' relation thereto (1817-1818). [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917.] 27 p. 8°. [121]

Repr.: *Deutsch-amerikanische historische Gesellschaft von Illinois, Jahrbuch*, Chicago, 1917, v. 17, p. 393-415.

* p. 300-320.

Reviewed by A. B. Faust in *American historical review*, 1920, v. 25, p. 554.

Henry M. Leipziger; his service to the immigrant. [122]

AH. 1917. v. 102, p. 144.

The duties of American Jewry to European Jewry. [123]

Emanu-El review. New York, 1917. v. 2, Jan., p. 20-21.

Abstract of an address before the Junior Society of the Congregation, Dec. 17, 1916.

"The Jewish voice" and the American Jewish Historical Society. [124]

Jewish voice. St. Louis, 1917. v. 62, Feb. 9, p. 3.

1918

Simon Wolf's "Presidents". [125]

AH. 1918. v. 103, p. 464-468.

A review of *The presidents I have known from 1860 to 1918*, by Simon Wolf.

Influence of American precedents and Jewish patriotism upon Jewish emancipation abroad. [126]

AJHS.P. 1918. no. 26, p. 266-268.

1919

James Russell Lowell and the Jews. [127]

AH. 1919. v. 104, p. 362, 376.

Reprinted in *RA.*, 1919, v. 57, p. 103-105.

See also item 2.

Personal memoirs. By Dr. Abraham Jacobi. [128]

AH. 1919. v. 105, p. 486, 504-505.

The introductory note to the above, which is an autobiographical address delivered on the occasion of Carl Schurz's 70th birthday, May 12, 1899, is by MJK.

1920

[Theodore] Roosevelt on European Jews. [129]

AH. 1920. v. 106, p. 441.

Jacob H. Schiff anecdotes by and of him. [130]

AH. 1920. v. 107, p. 658.

Los Judios en Cuba. [131]

Revista bimestre Cubana. 1920. v. 15, p. 125-129.

"Bibliografia," p. 129.

Largely a translation of his article *Cuba* in the *JEn.*

[Message to Jacob H. Schiff's family.] [132]

World. New York, Sept. 28, 1920, p. 13, col. 1.

Signed jointly with Eugene S. Benjamin, on behalf of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, upon the decease of J. H. Schiff.

1921

Thomas Jefferson and John Bassett Moore on anti-Semitism. [133]

AH. 1921. v. 109, p. 226.

[Robert Newton] Crane is not the first American K. C. [134]

Evening post. New York, March 16, 1921, p. 20.

Suggesting Judah P. Benjamin for this distinction.

1922

The American Jewish year book; on the art of spending lots of money publishing books not read. [135]

AH. 1922. v. 112, p. 168, 178.

1923

Board of Delegates on Civil Rights; a watchtower and safeguard for sixty-three years. [136]

AH. 1923. v. 112, p. 256, 289.

[Review of] David Lubin; an American Jewish idealist, by O. R. Agresti. [137]

AH. 1923. v. 112, p. 752-753.

A champion for justice [tribute to Simon Wolf]. [138]

AH. 1923. v. 113, p. 76.

Death of Mrs. Lena B. Weingart. [139]

AH. 1923. v. 113, p. 131.

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The Jewish population of the United States. [140]

AH. 1923. v. 113, p. 613.

Reprinted in *RA.*, 1923, v. 66, p. 300-301.

"The Jews in America" as misinterpreted by Burton J. Hendrick's hallucination. [141]

BBN. 1923. v. 15, March, p. 3-5, 16.

Reprinted in *AH.*, 1923, v. 112, p. 478, 489, 495, 501, 507, 522; *AI.*, 1923, v. 69, issues of Feb. 22, March 1, and 8; and in *RA.*, 1923, v. 65, p. 152-156, 159, 168, 186-189.

Issued as a separate by the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, Chicago, 1923, 12 p., with cover-title, as *Anti-Defamation Reprint Series*, no. 2.

* Under heading, *A mis-description of the immigrant Jew*, p. 232-250.

[Nathan] Straus and Montefiore; the practice of practical idealism. [142]

JTr. 1923. v. 81, Feb. 2, p. 24.

Dr. [Kaufmann] Kohler and the Pittsburgh Conference. [143]

JTr. 1923. v. 81, June 8, p. 17.

In defence of Clifton H. Levy's delineation of K. Kohler, *ibid.*, May 11, p. 2.

Tribute to Simon Wolf. [144]

JTr. 1923. v. 81, June 15, p. 13, 20.

A tribute to Nathan Straus. [145]

RA. 1923. v. 65, p. 8-9.

The Board of Delegates. [146]

UAHCAR. 1923. no. 49, p. 9187-9194.

Reprinted in *AH.*, 1923, v. 112, p. 326, 353, 360-362, and, with an enlarged title, in Simon Wolf, *Selected addresses and papers*, Cincinnati, 1926, p. 334-355.

1924

Simon Wolf [a biography]. [147]

AJYB. 1924. v. 26, p. 404-419.

1925

Concerning abolition of "Board of Delegates on Civil Rights" as an agency of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. [148]

AH. 1925. v. 118, p. 60.

The Board of Delegates of American Israelites, 1859-1878, including the correspondence of Myer S. Isaacs with General Benjamin F. Butler as to the status of the Jews at the time of our Civil War. [149]

AJHS.P. 1925. no. 29, p. 75-135.

Reprinted as separate, with cover-title.

Read before the 28th annual meeting of the Society, Feb. 1920.

Appendix III, p. 117-128, *A birdseye view of Jewish civic activity and patriotism all over the world during our Civil War, Correspondence between Myer S. Isaacs and General B. F. Butler, 1864*, was printed in *JFo.*, 1920, v. 3, p. 454-464.

Bernard A. Palitz [a necrology]. [150]

AJHS.P. 1925. no. 29, p. 181-183.

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title, 2 p.

Simon Wolf [a necrology]. [151]

AJHS.P. 1925. no. 29, p. 198-206.

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.

Look before you leap! [152]

JExp. 1925. v. 77, Nov. 6, p. 8.

A letter to the editor commenting on parts of an address by Lee K. Frankel.

See L. K. Frankel's reply, *ibid.*, Nov. 20, p. 2.

1926

The friend of the "stranger within our gates"; Louis Marshall, advocate of liberal immigration laws. [153]

JTr. 1926. v. 89, Dec. 10, p. 13; Dec. 17, p. 22.

* Under heading *Louis Marshall—70th birthday tribute*, p. 430-437.

Simon Wolf [a necrology]. [154]

In: Simon Wolf. *Selected addresses and papers*. Cincinnati, 1926. p. 12-27.

* p. 425-426.

Different from the one printed in *AJHS.P.*, no. 29 (see item 151).

1927

[Remarks of Mr. Max J. Kohler.] [155]

NYT. May 12, 1927, p. 18.

At the meeting of May 11, 1927, when it was voted to consolidate temples Beth-El and Emanu-El of New York City. These remarks were the subject of a leading editorial in *Jewish daily news*, New York, May 13, 1927, p. 6, col. 1-2.

1928

Samuel Fleischman [a necrology]. [156]

AJHS.P. 1928. no. 31, p. 257-258.

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.

Antisemitismus in den vereinigten Staaten. [157]

Encyclopaedia Judaica. 1928. Bd. 2, col. 1094-1099.

German Jews in the annuals of the German-American Historical Society of Illinois. [158]

RA. 1928. v. 76, p. 681-682.

On "A letter from a German Jew to the president of the American Continental Congress," by H. E. Zeydel, which appeared in *Deutsch-Amerikanische historische Gesellschaft von Illinois, Jahrbuch*, 1928, v. 27-28, p. 185-194, and other items of Jewish interest in previous volumes of this periodical.

1929

Tribute to Louis Marshall. [159]

AH. 1929. v. 125, p. 492.Reprinted in part *ibid.*, 1934, v. 135, p. 334.

1930

Birthplace of Judah P. Benjamin. [159a]

ABA.J. 1930. v. 16, p. 68-69.Further elucidation of the facts given by G. W. Williams, *ibid.*, 1929, v. 15, p. 722.

New stanzas discovered from the pen of author of "Home, sweet home". [160]

AH. 1930. v. 126, p. 368.

Mrs. Nathan Straus. [Lina Guthertz Straus.] [161]

AH. 1930. v. 127, p. 55.Reprinted in *RA.*, 1930, v. 79, p. 433.

[Review of] The political thought of Roger Williams, by J. E. Ernst. [162]

AH. Nov. 21, 1930. v. 128, p. 824-825.

Freidus, Abraham Salomo. [163]

Encyclopaedia Judaica. 1930. Bd. 6, col. 1158-1159.

Jacob H. Schiff at Pres. Taft's Russian Treaty abrogation conference; a page in history . . . [164]

RA. 1930. v. 80, p. 318, 330-332.Reprinted in *AI.*, 1931, v. 77, May 28, p. 14.

1931

Haym Salomon, the patroit broker of the Revolution: his real achievements and their exaggeration. An open letter to Congressman Celler. [New York] 1931. 22 p., 1 l. 8°. [165]

See *New York Historical Society, Quarterly bulletin*, 1931, v. 15, p. 69.

Final word on Haym Salomon? Max J. Kohler replies to Federation of Polish Jews, summarizing his previous strictures. [166]

AH. 1931. v. 128, p. 586.

Cf. *Does Kohler prick Haym Salomon bubble?*, *ibid.*, p. 492, 503. See also *JDB.*, 1931, v. 8, March 17, p. 3-4, and April 6, p. 1, 4.

Isaac Harby, Jewish religious leader and man of letters. [167]

AJHS.P. 1931. no. 32, p. 35-53.

Appendices: First entries in the Harby Bible referring to Isaac Harby. Harby's discourse on the Jewish synagogue. Will of Solomon Harby. Two letters.

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.

Lewis Abraham [a biographic sketch]. [168]

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As to the supposed 18th century translation into Hebrew of Washington's correspondence with Hebrew congregations. [169]

AJHS.P. 1931. no. 32, p. 121.

Charles P. Steinmetz and his Jewish descent. [170]

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Isaac Markens [a necrology]. [171]

AJHS.P. 1931. no. 32, p. 129-132.

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.

Max J. Kohler issues reply to Haym Salomon Monument Committee's attack on him. [172]

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A supplemental bibliography of Dr. Kaufmann Kohler. [173]

In: Kohler, Kaufmann. *Studies, addresses and personal papers.* New York, 1931. p. 565-577.

In memoriam: Nathan Straus. [174]

New York Jewish tribune. 1931. v. 1, Jan. 16, p. 7.

Tribute to Nathan Straus. [175]

NYT. Jan. 12, 1931, p. 9, col. 2.

1932

Memorial of Moses Jesse Stroock. [176]

Assoc. of the Bar of the City of New York, Yearbook. 1932. p. 426-428.

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1933

Reverdy Johnson on Judah P. Benjamin. [177]

ABA.J. 1933. v. 19, p. 309.

[Review of] Roger Williams—New England firebrand, by James Ernst. [178]

AH. 1933. v. 132, p. 255.

American Jews suppressing information as to their faith. [179]

AH. 1933. v. 132, p. 328.

Apropos Luther C. Fry's "The religious affiliation of American leaders" in *Scientific monthly*, March 1932.

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Memorial of Burton Charles Meighan. [180]

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p. 332-335.

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Louis Marshall. [181]

DAB. 1933. v. 12, p. 326-328.

Felicitation on Jewish Telegraphic Agency's 15th anniversary.
[182]

JDB. 1933. v. 10, March 16, p. 17.

Memorial of Samson Lachman. [183]

Judaeans. 1933. v. 4, p. 1-3.

Read before the Judaeans, Feb. 28, 1932.

David Einhorn. [184]

NE. 1933. v. 4, p. 69.

Emil Gustav Hirsch. Maurice de Hirsch. [185]

NE. 1933. v. 5, p. 268-269.

Isaac Mayer Wise. [186]

NE. 1933. v. 10, p. 489.

1934

[Tribute to Hyman G. Enelow.] [187]

AH. 1934. v. 134, p. 263.

Felicitation to the Jewish Daily Bulletin on its enlarged
format. [188]

JDB. 1934. v. 11, Jan. 16, p. 9.

An old reform congregation in Philadelphia. [189]

JExp. 1934. v. 93, Feb. 23, p. 9.

As to an appeal for funds by a Philadelphia German-speaking congregation to Israel Jacobson of Hanover, Germany.

1935

Isaac Newton Seligman. [190]

DAB. 1935. v. 16, p. 570-571.

Jesse Seligman. [191]

DAB. 1935. v. 16, p. 571.

Joseph Seligman. [192]

DAB. 1935. v. 16, p. 571-572.

II. IMMIGRATION

1897

United States. Circuit Court of Appeals. (2. circuit)

. . . In the matter of the petition of Li Sing for writs of habeas corpus and certiorari. Transcript of record. Appeal from the District Court of the United States for the southern district of New York. [New York, 1897.] 69 p. 8°. [193]

— — Brief for the United States . . . Max J. Kohler, Assistant United States Attorney. New York: E. H. Coffin [1897]. 41 p. 8°. [194]

See *In re Li Foon*, 80 Fed., 881.

1898

United States. Circuit Court of Appeals. (2. circuit)

. . . In the matter of the application of Charles H. Leung. Brief for the United States. Henry L. Burnett, attorney for the United States. Max J. Kohler, Assistant United States Attorney. New York: E. H. Coffin [1898]. 20 p. 8°. [195]

See 86 Fed., 303.

1901

United States. Circuit Court of Appeals. (2. circuit)
. . . The United States, appellant, vs. Lee Yen Tai, appellee.
Memorandum for appellee on Government's motion to vacate
authorization of bail. New York: Appeal Ptg. Co. [1901].
18 p. 8°. [196]

— — Brief for appellee . . . New York: Appeal Ptg. Co.
[1901]. 35 p. 8°. [197]

MJK, of counsel for appellee.

See 108 Fed., 950.

United States. Supreme Court.

. . . The United States, appellant, vs. Lee Yen Tai, appellee.
Brief for appellee. B. Lewinson, Max J. Kohler, of counsel
. . . New York: Appeal Ptg. Co., 1902. 49 p. 8°. [198]

— The United States, appellant, vs. Lee Yen Tai, appellee
. . . Chin Bak Kan . . . Reply brief for Chinese defendants
. . . New York: C. G. Burgoyne [1902]. 29 p. 8°. [199]

See 185 U. S., 213.

Our Chinese exclusion laws; should they not be modified or
repealed? [200]

NYT. Nov. 24, 1901, sect. 1, p. 14, col. 1-3; Nov. 25, p. 9,
col. 1-3.

Reprinted in M. J. Kohler, ed., *Truth vs. Fiction* [New York, 1901],
p. 35-55.

1902

United States. Supreme Court.

. . . Chin Bak Kan, appellant, vs. the United States. Chin
Ying, appellant, vs. the United States. Brief for appellants in
opposition to motion to vacate order for bail. B. Lewinson,
Max J. Kohler, of counsel for appellants. New York: Appeal
Ptg. Co., 1902. 28 p. 8°. [201]

— — Brief for appellants . . . New York: Appeal Ptg. Co.,
1902. 31 p. 8°. [202]

October term, 1901.

— The United States, appellant, vs. Lee Yen Tai, appellee, no. 503 . . . vs. Chin Bak Kan . . . vs. Chin Ying . . . Reply brief for Chinese defendants . . . New York: C. G. Burgoyne [1902]. 29 p. 8°. [203]

See 185 U. S., 213.

1903

United States. Supreme Court.

. . . Ah How, alias Louie Ah How, appellant, against the United States et al. Motion for leave to file accompanying brief in aid of appellants on behalf of the Chinese Benevolent Association, a New York corporation. New York: Stillman Appellate Ptg. Co. [1903]. 63 p. 8°. [204]

October term, 1903.

MJK, of counsel.

See 193 U. S., 65.

Enforcing immigration laws. [205]

NYT. June 7, 1903, p. 34, col. 3-5.

On the Congressional act regarding immigration, effective July 1, 1903.

1904

United States. Supreme Court.

. . . Ng Hong Li, appellant, vs. the United States. Brief for appellant. Max J. Kohler, of counsel for appellant. New York: Chase & Co. [1904]. 57 p. 8°. [206]

See 196 U. S., 636.

New Chinese exclusion bill. [207]

Evening post. New York, Aug. 22, 1904, p. 3, col. 6.

Statement as counsel of the Chinese Charitable and Benevolent Association.

1905

Our Chinese exclusion policy and trade relations with China. [208]

AAA.J. 1905. v. 5, p. 133-137.

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Hints for better administration of the law [relating to the treatment of Chinese visiting this country]. [209]

AAA.J. 1905. v. 5, p. 176-179.

* Under heading, *The administration of our Chinese immigration laws*, p. 251-262.

The administration of Chinese exclusion laws. [210]

AAA.J. 1905. v. 5, p. 196-197.

A case of fraud in immigration. The U. S. jury makes an important presentment. [211]

AH. 1905. v. 77, p. 519.

In the case of Malke and Meyer Meyerowitz, in which MJK acted as counsel, on behalf of the Legal Aid Bureau of the Educational Alliance.

Treaty-violating laws . . . summary of China's grievances against the U. S.—Excuses for wholesale arrests to please Pacific Coast labor agitators. [212]

Evening post. New York, July 1, 1905, Saturday supplement, p. 5.

Written at the request of the United States Export Association, as an answer to Secretary Metcalf.

1906

United States. Circuit Court of Appeals. (3. circuit)
. . . Toy Tong, Wah Ben, Chan Ping, and Lum Lum, defendants and appellants, vs. the United States of America, plaintiff and appellee. Appeal from the District Court of the United States for the district of New Jersey. Max J. Kohler and Theodore Burdoo, attorneys for appellants. Trenton, N. J.: MacCrellish & Quigley, 1906. 61 p. 8°. [213]

Transcript of record.

— — Brief for appellants . . . New York: B. H. Tyrrel [1906]. 42 p. 8°. [214]

— — Appellants' petition for rehearing . . . New York:
B. H. Tyrrel [1906]. 16 p. 4°. [215]

In the Petition for rehearing, MJK served as sole counsel.

See 146 Fed., 343.

On the copy in the Society's possession is inscribed: "To . . . whose generous and humane interest in these four poor unfortunates is responsible for this new appeal on their behalf . . ."

Coolies and [or *versus*] privileged classes; a chapter in the history of our diplomatic relations with China. [216]

NYDT. Jan. 15, 1906, p. 5.

Reprinted in *AAAJ.*, 1906, v. 6, p. 49-52.

* p. 263-274.

1907

Naturalization and the color line. [217]

AAAJ. 1907. v. 7, p. 9-11.

See also editorial comment, *ibid.*, p. 2.

* p. 392-398.

1909

The un-American character of race legislation. Philadelphia:
American Academy of Political and Social Science [1909].
cover-title, 275-293 p. 8°. [218]

Repr.: *American academy of political and social science, Annals*, Philadelphia, 1909, v. 34.

Part of a symposium on: Chinese and Japanese in America; the argument against Oriental exclusion.

* p. 131-148.

United States. Circuit Court of Appeals. (2. circuit)
. . . Yee Sing and Yee King, appellants, vs. the United States,
appellee. Transcript of record. Appeal from the District
Court of United States for the southern district of New York.
[New York, 1909.] ii, 66 p. 4°. [219]

— — Brief for defendants-appellants. [New York, 1909.]
28 p. 4°. [220]

MJK, of counsel.

See 179 Fed., 368.

United States. District Court, New York. Southern district.
. . . In the matter of Hersch Skuratowski, on habeas corpus
and certiorari . . . Brief for petitioner. Max J. Kohler,
Abram I. Elkus, of counsel for petitioner. New York: Wm.
Siegrist, 1909. 61 p. 4°. [221]

Reprinted in *US.I.C.R.*, 1911, v. 41, p. 160-181.

The petitioner having been admitted entry into the United States,
this brief was never submitted to the Court.

Protecting immigrant rights. [222]

AH. 1909. v. 85, p. 296-297.

Criticism of Commissioner Williams' administration of Ellis Island.

1910

In the matter of the appeals to the Secretary of Commerce
and Labor of Galveston immigrants, who arrived under the
auspices of the Jewish Immigrants' Information Bureau.
Papers on rehearing. Statement of facts, submitted by David
M. Bressler, esq., honorary secretary, "Jewish Immigrants'
Information Bureau," July 21st, 1910, on rehearing of Gal-
veston appeals. [New York, 1910.] 61 p. 4°. [223]

Prepared with the collaboration of MJK.

See *In re appeals of Galveston Jewish immigrants . . . memoran-
dum in support of appeals*, p. 30-42, by MJK.

Recommendations respecting revision of the immigration laws
and regulations made by the American Jewish Committee, the
Board of Delegates on Civil Rights of the Union of American
Hebrew Congregations, the Independent Order B'nai B'rith,
to the United States Immigration Commission. New York,
1910. cover-title, 31 p. 4°. [224]

Reprinted in *US.I.C.R.*, 1911, v. 41, p. 141-157.

These recommendations, supplementing the oral arguments before
the Commission by the representatives of three above organizations,
were prepared by MJK. The oral arguments are printed *ibid.*, p. 265-
293.

* p. 1-21.

United States. Circuit Court of Appeals. (2. circuit)
 . . . The United States of America, appellant, against H. F.
 [Bhicaji Franji] Balsara, appellee. Brief for Syrian inter-
 venors. Louis Marshall, Max J. Kohler, of counsel. New
 York: B. H. Tyrrel [1910]. 84 p. 4°. [225]

References are cited herein from *AJHSP*. See p. 78-81.
 See 180 Fed., 694.

Immigrants as "Hebrews". [226]

JExp. 1910. v. 50, Feb. 25, p. 8.

A summary of the Immigration Committee's findings regarding the
 classification of Jewish immigrants.

The American immigration laws and their relation to the
 Jews. [227]

Jewish review. London, 1910. v. 1, p. 230-241.

Noted in *JCh.*, 1910, Sept. 2, p. 17.

Statement of Mr. Max J. Kohler. [228]

US.-C. (61st) HR.-CIN. Hearings. 1910. p. 348-360.

Reprinted in part in *AH.*, 1910, v. 86, p. 571-572; and in *AJYB.*,
 1910, 5671, p. 70-87.

See *Valuable testimony* in *JCo.*, 1910, v. 31, p. 6.

1911

Immigration and the courts. [229]

AH. 1911. v. 88, p. 492.

The administration of our immigration laws. [230]

Editorial review. 1911. v. 5, p. 722-733, 830-838.

Facing p. 722 and 830 are two ports. of MJK.

Abstracted by William S. Bennet in *Jewish charities*, Baltimore,
 1911, v. 2, Oct., p. 13-14.

* p. 46-65.

The immigration question, with particular reference to the Jews of America. [231]

In his: *The immigration question . . . addresses by Max J. Kohler, honorable Charles Nagel, and Jacob H. Schiff.* [New York, 1911.] p. 1-26.

Delivered at the 22nd Council of the UAHC., Jan. 18, 1911.

Reprinted, under the title *Immigration and the Jews of America*, in *AH.*, 1911, v. 88, p. 373-375, 407-409; *JExp.*, 1911, v. 52, Jan. 20, p. 8-9; *RA.*, 1911, v. 40, p. 1129-1140; and in *UAHC.AR.*, 1911, no. 37, p. 6589-6616.

Extracts are given in *JCo.*, 1911, v. 33, p. 207-208; and in *Immigration*, Springfield, Mass., 1911, v. 2, p. 273-275. See also criticism, *ibid.*, p. 252-253.

See also *JTr.*, 1911, v. 16, Jan. 27, p. 4; and editorial *The nation's immigration policy* in *NYT.*, Jan. 18, 1911.

This address of MJK, and the reply by Secretary Nagel, were extensively reported and editorially commented upon by the metropolitan newspapers throughout the country, Jan. 19-22, 1911. See *Scrapbook of MJK*, no. 2, p. 65-67.

* Under heading, *Jewish immigrants*, together with the address of C. Nagel, p. 164-199.

Max Kohler contends that he [J. W. Jenks] is wrong. [232]

NYT. April 14, 1911, p. 9, col. 1.

Substance of argument by MJK in a debate with Jeremiah W. Jenks, arranged by the Committee on Civic Meetings on "Should immigration be restricted?" at the Ethical Culture Meeting House, New York, April 13, 1911.

See *AH.*, v. 88, p. 751; editorial *Democracy and the immigrant* in *Evening post*, New York, April 14, 1911, p. 8; and *Die andere Seite des Problems* in *Abendblatt der New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, April 14, 1911, p. 2.

We're unfair to desirable aliens. [233]

NYT. April 23, 1911, parts 3 and 4, p. 3, col. 5-6.

Statement on interview given by Herman Bernstein in London, April 22, 1911. See *Jewish world*, London, of April 22, 1911.

Husaren-Justiz auf Einwander-insel. Ein bekannter Anwalt [MJK] schildert wie Kommissär Williams das Recht beugt und seinen eigenen Willen zum höchsten Gesetz macht. [234]

New Yorker Morgen-Journal. May 26, 1911, p. 6.

Jüdische Gesellschaften für Sulzer-resolution. Anwalt Max J. Kohler indossirt in längerem Schreiben das Vorgehen des Kongress-repräsentanten und stellt ihm Beweismaterial zur Verfügung. [235]

New Yorker Morgen-Journal. May 29, 1911, p. 2.

Letter to the editor, urging investigation of the Immigration department.

Die amerikanische Einwanderungsgesetze in ihrer Beziehung zu den Juden. [236]

Ost und West. Berlin, 1911. Jahrg. 11, col. 606-614.

Memorandum in opposition to classification of immigrants as "Hebrews". [237]

US.IC.R. 1911. v. 41, p. 276-279.

Statement of Max J. Kohler [before the Commission]. [238]

US.IC.R. 1911. v. 41, p. 238-248.

1912

United States. Circuit Court of Appeals. (2. circuit)
 . . . United States of America, appellant, vs. Hom Lim . . .
 vs. Quan Wah . . . vs. Lau Chu . . . vs. Lee Chee, appel-
 lee[s]. Transcript of record. Appeal from the District Court
 of the United States for the eastern district of New York.
 [New York, 1912.] vi, 281 p. 4°. [239]

MJK, of counsel for Hom Lim. See p. 1-78.

— United States of America, appellant, against Hom Lim,
 defendant-appellee. Brief for defendant-appellee. New York:
 Fremont Payne [1912]. 16 p. 4°. [240]

MJK, of counsel for defendant-appellee.

See 214 Fed., 456.

Restriction of immigration; discussion. [241]

AER. 1912. v. 2, no. 1, supplement, p. 72-78.

In a symposium on that topic at the 24th annual meeting of the AEA., Washington, D. C., Dec. 29, 1911.

Reprinted in Albert B. Wolfe, ed., *Readings in social problems*, Boston [cop. 1916], p. 401-405.

Reprinted in *AI.*, 1912, v. 58, Jan. 4, p. 1; Jan. 11, p. 5, col. 2.

Condemns the literacy test. [242]

AH. 1912. v. 91, p. 36.

Immigration; summary of the reports of the Immigration Commission. [243]

AI. 1912. v. 58, Feb. 8, p. 1.

Fighting the immigration bill. [244]

JCo. 1912. v. 38, p. 245.

Memorandum in respect to Senate Bill 3175 [the Dillingham immigration bill]. [245]

JExp. 1912. v. 54, Feb. 23, p. 8.

Prepared jointly with Abram I. Elkus and Louis Marshall.

Immigration of unaccompanied males. [245a]

In his: *Immigration and aliens in the United States*. New York, 1936. p. 275-279.

Correspondence in Aug.-Sept. 1912, with Charles W. Eliot. Printed here for the first time.

Sees injustice in immigration laws. M. J. Kohler says the Dillingham plan of restriction would violate our treaties. Like a ticket-of-leave law. [246]

NYT. Jan. 27, 1912, p. 6, col. 1.

A sympathetic opinion. [247]

NYT. May 11, 1912, p. 12, col. 7.

An answer to Wm. S. Bennet who argued that the then pending Dillingham bill would render the Chinese exclusion laws inoperative.

1913

The immigration problem and the right of asylum for the persecuted. [Baltimore, 1913] 36 p. 24°. [248]

Repr.: *JCo.*, 1913, v. 42, p. 37-39, 55-56, 59.

Reprinted in *US.-C. (63rd, 2nd session) HR.-CIN., Hearings . . . on H. R. 6060*, 1913, p. 199-210.

* p. 78-98.

Max J. Kohler on immigration. [249]

AH. 1913. v. 92, p. 762.

On the pending Burnett-Dillingham bill, before the students of Teachers' College, Columbia University.

Objections to the immigration bill. [250]

Evening post. New York, 1913. Jan. 30, p. 6.

Reprinted in *JCo.*, 1913, v. 40, p. 219; and in *JExp.*, 1913, v. 56. Feb. 7, p. 6.

וואס מר. עלקום האט געטאהן פאר אימיגראנטען [250a]

Jewish daily news. Oct. 26, 1913, p. 5, col. 1.

[Review of] A treatise on the laws governing the exclusion and the expulsion of aliens in the United States, by Clement L. Bouvé. [251]

Political science quarterly. 1913. v. 28, p. 688-690.

* Under heading, *The exclusion and expulsion of aliens*, p. 406-407.

A new expedient for restricting immigration. [252]

Survey. 1913. v. 30, p. 369-370.

See letter of Jas. H. Patten, MJK's reply, J. H. Patten's counter-reply, and MJK's final letter, *ibid.*, p. 554-555, and v. 31, p. 61.

On the Dillingham bill.

Objectionable provisions of the [pending] immigration bill.
[253]

UAHCAR. 1913. no. 39, p. 7165-7175.

Appendix A of the report of the Committee on Immigration of the Board of Delegates on Civil Rights of the Union.

Signed jointly with Simon Wolf.

Memorandum submitted by Max J. Kohler. [254]

US.-C. (63rd, 2nd session) HR.-CIN. Hearings . . . on HR. 6060. 1913. part 2, p. 194-210.

Documents relating to illiteracy among Jewish immigrants and the right of asylum for the persecuted, submitted Dec. 12, 1913.

1914

Jewish immigrants; report of a special committee [M. J. Kohler, chairman] of the National Jewish Immigration Council appointed to examine into the question of illiteracy among Jewish immigrants and its causes. Washington, 1914. 26 p. 8°. (U. S. Congress, 63rd, 2nd session. Senate. Document no. 611.) [255]

Prepared by MJK and submitted to the Senate by A. I. Elkus, March 8, 1914, through Senator O'Gorman.

* Under heading, *Illiteracy of Jewish immigrants and its cause*, p. 200-228.

Some aspects of the immigration problem [Princeton, N. J.: American Economic Assoc., 1914] 93-108 p. 8°. [256]

Repr.: *AER.*, v. 4.

Reviewed in *Jewish charities*, Baltimore, 1914, v. 4, April, p. 7-8; and by L. M. in *Rivista Italiana di sociologia*, Roma, 1914, anno 18, p. 778-780.

See also abstract in Mary K. Reely, *Selected articles on immigration*, New York, 1915, p. 150-154; and *The true solution in Immigration*, Springfield, Mass., 1914, v. 6, p. 58.

* p. 280-295.

United States. Circuit Court of Appeals. (2. circuit)
. . . United States ex rel. Ali Gegiow, et al., relators-appellants, against Byron H. Uhl, acting commissioner of immi-

gration at the port of New York, respondent. Petition of relators for rehearing and application to certify certain questions to the United States Supreme Court. New York: Fremont Payne [1914]. 50 p. 4°. [257]

MJK, Abram I. Elkus, Ralph Barnett, Morris Jablow, of counsel for appellants.

— The people of the United States, ex rel. Ali Gegiow et al., appellants, vs. Byron H. Uhl . . . appellee. Transcript of record. From the District Court of the United States for the southern district of New York. [New York, 1914.] ii, 65 p. 4°. [258]

See 211 Fed., 236.

United States. Supreme Court.

. . . Ali Gegiow and Sabas Zarikoew, petitioners, against Byron H. Uhl, acting commissioner of immigration at the port of New York, respondent. Brief for petitioners. Walton, N. Y.: The Reporter Co., 1915. v, 76 p. 8°. [259]

— — Reply brief for petitioners. New York: B. H. Tyrrel [1915]. iv, 35 p. 8°. [260]

— — Petition for certiorari, brief and notice of filing. Walton, N. Y.: The Reporter Co., 1915. 42, iv p. 8°. [261]

— — Transcript of record . . . On writ of certiorari to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the second circuit. [Washington, D. C.: Judd & Detweiler, 1915.] ii, 39 p. 8°. [262]

October term, 1915. no. 340.

See 238 U. S., 620, and 239 U. S., 3.

See item 268.

Effects of the war on immigration. History of other wars shows that influx should not be abnormally heavy when peace comes. [263]

NYT. Dec. 12, 1914, p. 14.

Cf. *Pushing the immigration bill*, an editorial, *ibid.*, Dec. 13, 1914, sect. 4 and 5, p. 2, occasioned by the present article.

Reprinted in *AH.*, 1914, v. 96, p. 197 (see also *Revival of restrictionism*, *ibid.*, p. 200) and in *AI.*, 1914, v. 61, Dec. 31, p. 4.

1915

United States. Circuit Court of Appeals. (2. circuit)
. . . Fong Ping Ngar, appellant, vs. the United States,
appellee. Transcript of record. Appeal from the District
Court of the United States for the southern district of New
York. [New York, 1915.] ii, 70 p. 4°. [264]

MJK, of counsel for defendant-appellant.

— Fong Ping Ngar, defendant-appellant, against United
States of America, plaintiff-respondent. Brief for defendant-
appellant. [New York, 1915.] 39 p. 4°. [265]

See 223 Fed., 523.

[Review of] Jewish immigration to the United States from
1881 to 1910, by Samuel Joseph. [266]

AER. 1915. v. 5, p. 123-125

* p. 229-231.

[In the dispute of the National Council of Jewish Women
with its New York section.] [267]

AI. 1915. v. 62, Oct. 7, p. 4.

Letter by the Baron de Hirsch Fund Committee, signed jointly
with Abram I. Elkus and Nathan Bijur, to the Dept. of Immigrant
Aid of the National Council.

A wider threshold for immigrants. The United States Su-
preme Court denies Ellis Island the authority to exclude them
on economic suppositions. [268]

NYT. Oct. 29, 1915, p. 12.

A letter to the editor.

In the case of Ali Gegiow and Sabas Zarikoew vs. Commissioner of
Immigration.

Reprinted under the title *A vital immigration decision* in *AH.*, 1915,
v. 97, p. 710-711; in *AI.*, 1915, v. 62, Nov. 11, p. 1 (see editorial, *ibid.*,
p. 4, col. 3); and in *RA.*, 1915, v. 50, p. 411-414.

See items 257-262.

The immigration question. [269]

UAHCAR. 1915. no. 41, p. 7727-7734.

Reprinted in *Union bulletin*, Cincinnati, 1915, v. 5, May, p. 15-19.

1916

Rights of political asylum threatened. Little-discussed amendments to the immigration bill which would revolutionize American policy toward political refugees and domiciled aliens. [270]

Evening post. New York, May 3, 1916, p. 9.

Reprinted in *American leader*, New York, 1916, v. 9, p. 603-607.

Justice to immigrants on application for admission to the United States. [271]

Immigrants in America review. 1916. v. 1, p. 56-63.

* p. 66-77.

Immigration bills in the new Congress. [272]

Jewish immigration bulletin. New York, 1916. v. 6, Jan., p. 12-14.

The stranger at our gates. [272a]

In his: *Immigration and aliens in the United States*. New York, 1936. p. 296-299.

Address delivered before the New York section of the National Council of Jewish Women, at Temple Beth-El, Dec. 19, 1916.

Deplores the literacy test; calls immigrant bill, as passed by Senate, a detriment to the country. [273]

NYT. Dec. 16, 1916, p. 9.

1917

The right of asylum with particular reference to the alien. [St. Louis, 1917.] cover-title, 381-406 p. 8°. [274]

Repr.: *ALR.*, 1917, v. 51.

Address before the Phi Beta Kappa, Gamma chapter.

* p. 99-120.

A plea for the mothers of Israel; immigrant aid work [by the National Council of Jewish Women] outlined. [275]

AH. 1917. v. 100, p. 396.

The right of asylum; criticism of President's position on religious persecution and immigration laws. [276]

NYT. Feb. 1, 1917, p. 10.

A letter to the editor.

1919

War ruling concerning Jewish nationality. [277]

AH. 1919. v. 105, p. 257.

Reprinted in *AI.*, 1919, v. 66, July 17, p. 4; and in *RA.*, 1919, v. 57, p. 711-712.

1920

Mr. [Jacob H.] Schiff and immigration. The Baron de Hirsch Fund activities. [278]

AH. 1920. v. 107, p. 634-635.

* p. 427-429.

A constructive national social policy for admission, distribution, and incorporation of immigrants—the Jew in this process; a symposium. [279]

Jewish social service. 1920. v. 11, Sept., p. 5-6.

Others who participated are Samuel Joseph, P. L. Seman, and Helen Winkler.

Admission [of immigrants]. [280]

In: *National conference on immigration, Proceedings.* New York, 1920. p. 66-71.

In a discussion on that subject, under the auspices of the Interracial Council, New York, April 7, 1920.

Result of the literacy test. [281]

NYT. April 14, 1920, p. 8.

1921

New test for voters. Case against the proposed amendment requiring knowledge of English. [282]

NYT. Oct. 23, 1921, sect. 7, p. 2, 4.

Reprinted in *Jewish morning journal*, New York, Oct. 26, 1921, p. 12. See *The Day and the Warheit*, New York, Oct. 26, 1921, p. 4; and *Survey*, 1921, v. 47, Nov. 5, p. 203.

Attacks methods of barring aliens; attorney [MJK] asserts immigration law and Department regulations violate treaties. [283]

NYT. Nov. 6, 1921, sect. 2, p. 1.

Extract from an argument in a deportation case.

1922

Hardships of immigration. [284]

NYT. Sept. 24, 1922, sect. 7, p. 8.

Wholesale deportations under our immigration laws conceded to have been unlawful. [285]

UAHCAR. 1922. no. 48, p. 9022-9023.

Appendix "A" to the Annual report of the Board of Delegates on Civil Rights.

1923

United States. Supreme Court.

. . . Commissioner of immigration of port of New York, petitioner, against Gittel Gottlieb, and Israel Gottlieb. On writ of certiorari to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the second circuit. Respondents' supplemental brief. New York: Fremont Payne [1923]. 32 p. 4°. [286]

October term, 1923. no. 221.

Louis Marshall, Joseph G. M. Browne, MJK, respondents' counsel. See 265 U. S., 310.

The oppressive proposed registration of aliens . . . [New York: Baron de Hirsch Trade School Press, 1923] [7] p. 8°. [287]

"Printed for private distribution."

Reprinted in *AH.*, 1923, v. 114, p. 188; *RA.*, 1923, v. 66, p. 620-621; in M. J. Kohler, ed., *The registration of aliens a dangerous project* [New York, 1924], p. 8-15; and in his 2nd edition of 1926, p. 22-29.

Some of the evils of the proposed compulsory registration of Aliens. [288]

Immigrant. 1923. v. 2, March, p. 6-7.

Labor stands firm on immigrant law . . . Max J. Kohler calls it chance for oppression. [289]

NYT. Dec. 15, 1923, p. 28.

Extracts from addresses by Hugh Frayne, representing labor, and MJK, on behalf of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, at the National Immigration Conference of the National Industrial Conference Board, Dec. 1923.

Outline of memorandum submitted to the President on gross hardships of the so-called Equal citizenship bill. [290]

UAHCAR. 1923. no. 49, p. 9184-9185.

Reprinted in Simon Wolf, *Selected addresses and papers*, Cincinnati 1926, p. 325-329.

Signed jointly with Simon Wolf.

Statement of Mr. Max J. Kohler [concerning immigration and registration of aliens]. [291]

US.-C. (67th, 4th session) HR.-CIN. Hearings . . . Jan. 5, 1923. serial 5 C, p. 426-460.

p. 447-460, concerning registration of aliens, are reprinted in his *The registration of aliens a dangerous project* [New York, 1924], p. 32-56; and in the 2nd edition [New York] 1926, p. 109-134.

* Under heading, *Why registration of aliens is inadvisable*, p. 340-362.

1924

United States. Supreme Court.

. . . Robert E. Tod, commissioner of immigration, petitioner, vs. Szejwa Waldman and her three minor children, respondents. Petition for rehearing, formulation for terms of mandate, or other relief. Max J. Kohler for relators-respondents. New York: B. H. Tyrrel [1924]. 28 p. 8°. [292]

— — Brief for respondents. Max J. Kohler, of counsel. New York: B. H. Tyrrel [1924]. vi, 58 p. 8°. [293]

October term, 1924. no. 95.

See 266 U. S., 113, 547.

United States. Circuit Court of Appeals. (2. circuit).

. . . United States of America ex rel. Pauline Fink, appellant, vs. Robert E. Tod, commissioner of immigration, respondent. Reply brief for appellant. [New York, 1924.] 41 p. 4°. [294]

MJK, Louis Marshall, Morris L. Stern, of counsel.

— — Petition for rehearing, and, if denied, for stay of mandate, pending application to the United States Supreme Court for a certiorari. [New York, 1924.] 46 p. 4°. [295]

No. 322, Rehearing.

See 1 (2nd) Fed., 246.

United States. Supreme Court.

. . . United States of America ex rel. Pauline Fink, petitioner, against Robert E. Tod, commissioner of immigration, Ellis Island, port of New York, respondent. Petition for writ of certiorari, brief in support thereof and notice of motion. Max J. Kohler, Louis Marshall, Harry Kopp, Morris L. Stern, counsel for petitioner. New York: Hecia Press, 1924. vi, 50 p. 8°. [296]

— — Transcript of record . . . Washington, D. C.: Judd & Detweiler, 1924. ii, 273 p. 8°. [297]

— — Brief for petitioner . . . New York: B. H. Tyrrel, 1924. xiii, 108 p. 8°. [298]

October term, 1924. no. 698.

See 266 U. S., 599, and 267 U. S., 571.

Racial discrimination under our immigration laws; a timely survey of a vital question. [299]

JExp. 1924. v. 74, April 25, p. 1, 11.

Reprinted in *RA.*, 1924, v. 67, p. 420-421, 443-447.

Address before the Judaeans, March 2, 1924.

[On the per centum limit of the immigration act.] [300]

National Industrial Conference Board. New York, 1924. *special report*, no. 26, p. 105-110.

This, and the following, paper were read by MJK, representing the Baron de Hirsch Fund, at the National Immigration Conference of the National Industrial Conference Board, Dec. 13, and 14, 1923. See item 289.

[On the proposed registration of aliens.] [301]

National Industrial Conference Board. New York, 1924. *special report*, no. 26, p. 160-165.

Aspects of pending immigration legislation; an analysis of the Johnson bill, sponsored by the Chairman of the House Committee on Immigration. [302]

NYT. Jan. 5, 1924, p. 12.

Aspects of pending immigration legislation. Treaty provisions regarding aliens disregarded. How the law, in practice, has been defeated by vagueness of its provisions. [303]

NYT. Jan. 7, 1924, p. 18.

Aspects of pending immigration legislation. The "gentleman's agreement" with Japan and the treaty. Authorized inspection of immigration abroad. [304]

NYT. Jan. 9, 1924, p. 20.

Aspects of pending immigration legislation. Theories as to relative race values and how experience has disproved some of them. [305]

NYT. Jan. 14, 1924, p. 16.

See Henry P. Fairchild's answering letter, *ibid.*, Jan. 17, p. 14; MJK's counter-reply, Jan. 19, p. 12; and letter by W. W. Hoffman, Jan. 27, sect. 8, p. 8.

* Under heading, *The national quotas law*, p. 22-31. The reprinting here follows in order the *NYT* issues of Jan. 7, 14, 9, and part of Jan. 5th (items 303, 305, 304, 302).

Some aspects of immigration legislation. Restriction and selection under the present law. Suggestion as to proposed action. [306]

NYT. Jan. 25, 1924, p. 16.

Resolution on immigration. [307]

UAHCAR. 1924. no. 50, p. 9403.

Presented by MJK, Jan. 27, 1924, at a conference of all the boards of the UAHC. See also *ibid.*, p. 9413.

1925

[Review of] Document and case records on immigration, by Edith Abbott. [308]

AH. 1925. v. 116, p. 431.

U. S. Alien law [passed by Congress in May 1924] called unfair. [309]

Detroit news. Dec. 30, 1925.

Abstract of an address before the Men's Club of Temple Beth-El, Detroit, Mich., Dec. 29, 1925.

1926

Pogrom refugees can be exempt from literacy test. Religious persecution clause can be applied to Jewish woman. [310]

JDB. 1926. v. 3, Sept. 14, p. 1, 4.

The story of the Szejwa Waldman case.

1927

Max J. Kohler reviews history of objections to term "Hebrew" in immigration act; finds designation of Jewish immigrants as "Hebrews" expedient. [311]

JDB. 1927. v. 4, March 4, p. 3-4.

See "German Jews urged to describe themselves as 'Germans' on U. S. records," *ibid.*, Feb. 28, p. 1, 4. See also *ibid.*, March 2, p. 3, col. 2; and March 6, p. 1, col. 1.

Immigration and racial discrimination. [312]

Judaicans. 1927. v. 3, p. 146-163.

Revised form of his address of March 2, 1924. See item 299.

* p. 149-163.

1928

United States. Supreme Court.

. . . Anna Marie Maney, petitioner, vs. United States of America. Petition for rehearing, together with certificate and copy opinion of this court. Louis Marshall, Max J. Kohler, Bruno V. Bitker, of counsel for petitioner. New York: Hecia Press [1928]. x, 40 p. 8°. [313]

October term, 1928. no. 27.

See 278 U. S., 17.

1929

United States. Circuit Court of Appeals. (1. circuit)

. . . United States of America, appellant, vs. James Albert Anderson, appellee. Appeal from the District Court of the United States for the district of Rhode Island. Transcript of record . . . Lee M. Friedman, Arthur H. Feiner, Max J. Kohler, for appellee. Boston: Blanchard Ptg. Co., 1929. 1 p. 1., 19 p. 4°. [314]

October term, 1929. no. 2432.

See 35 (2nd) Fed., 529.

United States. Circuit Court of Appeals. (2. circuit)

. . . United States, ex rel., Ida Schechter, appellant, against superintendent of Central Islip State Hospital and Benjamin

M. Day, et al., appellees. Brief for appellant. Max J. Kohler, Anthony Romano, of counsel for appellant. [New York, 1929.] 1 p. 1., 84 p. 4°. [315]

See 30 (2nd) Fed., 1022.

Immigration and naturalization. [316]

AJCAR. 1929. no. 28, p. 19-27.

This section of the report, prepared by MJK and released Nov. 11, 1928, was printed, with slight modification, in *Congressional record*, Dec. 6, 1928, v. 70, part 1, p. 150-152.

1930

Legal disabilities of aliens in the United States. [New York, 1930.] 15 p. 12°. [317]

Repr.: *ABA.J.*, 1930, v. 16, p. 113-117.

This address, delivered before the Conference on Immigration Policy, New York, Feb. 20, 1929, first appeared in *FLIS.IRCS*, March 31, 1929, v. 6, no. 6, p. 19-25.

* p. 327-339.

[Review of] A study of assimilation among the Roumanians of the United States, by Christine A. Galitzi. [318]

AH. 1930. v. 127, p. 351.

[Statement.] [319]

In: *The Day.* *The un-American project to register all aliens.* New York, 1930. p. 11-12.

"I am vehemently opposed to registration of alien schemes."

Statement [on schemes for registration of aliens]. [320]

In: M. J. Kohler, ed. *The registration of aliens, voluntary or compulsory, a dangerous project.* New York, 1930. p. 34-35.

Statement of Max J. Kohler, chairman of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the American Jewish Committee [as to the proposed amendments to the immigration act of 1924]. [321]

US.-C. (71st, 2nd session) HR.-CIN. Hearings . . . Jan. 27, and Feb. 4, 1930. Hearings no. 71. 2. 7. p. 290-300.

* Under heading, *Ameliorating the quota laws*, p. 32-45.

Statement of Mr. Max J. Kohler. [322]

US.-C. (71st, 2nd session) S.-CI. Hearings . . . on S. 1278. March 12, 1930. p. 11-17.

On behalf of the American Jewish Committee, jointly with M. D. Rosenberg, on behalf of Ind. Order B'nai B'rith.

See also *JDB.*, 1930, v. 7, Feb. 20, p. 4, col. 1; and March 14, p. 4.

1931

United States. Circuit Court of Appeals. (2. circuit)
. . . Subhi Mustafa Sadi, petitioner-appellant, against the United States of America, respondent. Transcript of record. Error to the United States District Court for the southern district of New York. [New York, 1931.] ii, 62 p. 8°. [322a]
— — Appellant's petition for rehearing and other relief . . . New York: B. H. Tyrrel [1931]. iii, 38 p. 8°. [323]

See 48 (2nd) Fed., 1040.

United States. Supreme Court.
. . . Subhi Mustafa Sadi, petitioner, vs. the United States of America. Notice, petition and brief for writ of certiorari. Max J. Kohler, Frank J. McEwan, of counsel for petitioner. Walton, N. Y.: The Reporter Co. [1930]. vii, 75 p. 8°. [324]

— — Brief for writ of certiorari for petitioner . . . Walton, N. Y.: The Reporter Co. [1931]. vii, 71 p. 8°. [325]

October term, 1931. no. 247.

See 284 U. S., 643.

Memorandum in opposition to classification of Hebrews as such under the naturalization laws. [326]

AJC.A.R. 1931. no. 24, p. 75-86.

Reprinted as a separate, 10 p., with caption-title.

Submitted to the Secretary of Labor, Feb. 14, 1930. Signed jointly with Horace Stern and Lewis Strauss. As a result, the forms in naturalization herewith objected to were discontinued, Aug. 8, 1930.

See *JDB.*, 1930, v. 8, Aug. 10, p. 14.

* Under heading, *Racial classification under our naturalization laws*, p. 399-405.

[Letter to Governor W. M. Brucker of Michigan urging veto of the 1931 Michigan anti-alien bill.] [327]

JDB. 1931. v. 8, May 24, p. 1, 5-6.

On behalf of the American Jewish Committee, as chairman of its committee on immigration.

Cf. *Kohler to co-operate*, *ibid.*, June 14, p. 2.

* Under heading, *The Michigan alien registration law*, p. 389-391.

Enforcing our deportation laws. [328]

National conference of social work, Proceedings, Chicago, 1931. v. 58, p. 495-505.

Read at the 58th annual session, Minneapolis, June 1931. Partly reprinted in *The Michigan alien registration act declared unconstitutional in FLISIRCS.*, Dec. 14, 1931, v. 8, no. 41, p. 175-181.

* p. 408-416.

1932

The Baron de Hirsch Fund in its relation to immigrant aid and the U. S. immigration situation. Report of Max J. Kohler, with accompanying statements of subsidized organizations. [New York: Baron de Hirsch Fund, July 11, 1932.] 16 f. f°. [329]

Report to the Trustees of the Fund.

Mimeographed.

[Review of] Deportation of aliens from the United States to Europe, by Jane P. Clark [and of] Report on the enforcement of the deportation laws of the United States, by the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement. [330]

ABA.J. 1932. v. 18, p. 331-332.

* p. 417-420.

1933

[Review of] Immigrant gifts to American life, by Allen H. Eaton. [331]

AH. 1933. v. 132, p. 392.

1934

Asylum for refugees under our immigration laws; views of some distinguished contemporaries and of leaders of public opinion of earlier days on asylum, and their application to German political and religious refugees. Prepared [by M. J. Kohler] for Committee of Ten, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, chairman. New York [1934]. 32 p., incl. cover-title. 4°. [332]

United States. Circuit Court of Appeals. (6. circuit).
. . . Irwin Rash, appellant, vs. John L. Zurbrick, United States district director of immigration, and Walter Brooks, inspector-in-charge, immigration service, appellees. Appeal from the District Court of the United States, for the eastern district of Michigan, southern division. Brief for appellant. Theodore Levin, counsel. Max J. Kohler, of counsel. Detroit: Interstate Brief and Record Co. [1934]. xiii, 73 p. 8°. [333]

See 6 Fed. Sup., 390.

Should naturalization be made an exclusively administrative function? [334]

FLIS.IRCS. March 28, 1934. v. 11, no. 6, p. 30-36.

The answer is in the negative.

"From a panel discussion before the National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship."

Immigration and the Jewish problem. [335]

JDB. 1934. v. 11, May 29, p. 6.

Remarks at the National Conference of Jewish Social Service, May 1934.

U. S. welcome for persecuted aliens urged; Ellis Island Committee asks granting of asylum to all refugee groups. [336]

New York herald tribune. April 29, 1934, sect. 1, p. 7.

1936

Immigration and aliens in the United States; studies of American immigration laws and the legal status of aliens in the United States . . . New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1936. x, 459 p. 23½ x 16 cm. [336a]

Contents: Foreword, by Irving Lehman, p. iii-iv.—Contents, p. v-vi.—Preface, by Max J. Kohler, p. vii-ix.—Acknowledgment, p. x.—Text, in three parts, consisting of twelve sections and thirty-four chapters, p. 1-437.—Index, p. 439-459.

p. 275-279, 296-299 in this volume appear for the first time. See items 245a and 272a in this list.

"This posthumous work was not only projected by Max J. Kohler . . . but every portion of its contents was actually selected by him. . . . This finishing touch [of editing] was given also as a labor of love by Mr. Harry Schneiderman. . . . The index was prepared by Mrs. Effie Cowen Solis-Cohen. The proof sheets were . . . read and corrected by his two sisters, Rose and Lili Kohler, and his brother, Edgar J. Kohler."—p. x.

III. PUBLIC RIGHTS

1905

Religious liberty in Alaskan islands. Our treaty with Russia guarantees non-interference. Greek Church now there. Its practice of assessing natives may infringe American rule of separation of church and state. [337]

NYT. Sept. 10, 1905, p. 8.

1910

Justice Brewer and the theory that this is a Christian nation. [338]

AH. 1910. v. 86, p. 573.

Cf. editorial comment, *ibid.*, p. 576.

1912

The Jew in his relations to the law of the land. A paper read at the meeting of the Judeans in honor of Judge [Julian W.]

Mack and Judge [Julius M.] Mayer, New York, April 14, 1912. St. Louis: Nixon-Jones Ptg. Co., 1912. [713]-724 p. 8°. [339]

Repr.: *ALR.*, v. 46.

Reprinted in *AH.*, 1912, v. 91, p. 87-89; *Judaeans*, 1917, v. 2, p. 91-100; and in *RA.*, 1912, v. 43, p. 437-440.

1914

The Judaeen meeting. [340]

AH. 1914. v. 96, p. 142.

On the phrasing of the topic "The Jew as a citizen in the country of his domicile". Cf. editorials, *ibid.*, p. 114, 147.

1916

Jews' freedom with peace; makes plea for its inclusion in treaties. [341]

NYT. Dec. 25, 1916, p. 9, col. 3.

Extract from an address at Temple Israel, Brooklyn, Dec. 24, 1916.

1917

Jewish rights at international congresses. [342]

AJYB. 1917. 5678, p. 106-160.

Issued as a separate, under imprint of the Jewish Publication Society of America, 1917, with cover-title, 55 p.

"Jewish rights" at the Congress of Vienna. [343]

Menorah journal. 1917. v. 3, p. 137-145, 234-247.

This is described by MJK as a detailed abstract of *AJHS.P.*, 1918, no. 26, p. 33-125. See item 348.

Abstracted in *JExp.*, 1917, v. 65, Aug. 3, p. 4.

What can be done to promote Jewish emancipation abroad? [344]

RA. 1917. v. 53, p. 265-267, 299-300.

Read before the Judaeans, New York, March 4, 1917.

Jewish emancipation a century ago and today. [345]

RA. 1917. v. 54, p. 414-417, 441-443, 466-467, 471.

Read before the Wise Centre, Cincinnati, Nov. 25, 1917.

Extracts are given in *AI.*, 1917, v. 64, Nov. 29, p. 6.

1918

Czaristic Russia, Poland, and the Jews. [346]

AH. 1918. v. 103, p. 285-286.

See "Correction" to the above, *ibid.*, p. 331.

The future of the Jews in Poland; a dangerous situation discussed. [347]

AH. 1918. v. 104, p. 50, 68, 72-73.

Reprinted in *AI.*, 1918, v. 65, Nov. 14, p. 1.

Cf. *Survey*, 1918, v. 40, p. 614-615, which provoked the above paper.

Jewish rights at the congresses of Vienna (1814-1815) and Aix-la-Chapelle (1818). [348]

AJHS.P. 1918. no. 26, p. 33-125.

Appendices: A. Wilhelm von Humboldt on the principles of Jewish emancipatory legislation and his relations to the Jews. B. The influence of Lewis Way and other English missionaries upon Alexander I's treatment of the Jews.

A separate edition, v, 109 p., was issued in 1918, under the imprint of the American Jewish Committee.

Reviewed by Denys P. Myers in *AJIL.*, 1919, v. 13, p. 845-850; *ALR.*, 1918, v. 52, p. 952; *JCh.*, 1919, Feb. 14, p. 24; by Max J. Herzberg in *JFo.*, 1919, v. 2, p. 800-803; and in *Nation*, New York, 1919, v. 108, p. 510.

Abstracted in *Menorah journal*, 1917, v. 3, p. 137-145, 234-247, q. v. under item 343.

Bismarck and Beaconsfield in their relations to the Jews. [349]

AJHS.P. 1918. no. 26, p. 258-259.

The Jews in Poland; an account from new sources showing how race antagonism is revived by Germany. [350]

Survey. 1918. v. 41, p. 92-95.

Reprinted in *RA.*, 1918, v. 56, p. 365-368.

1919

Tolstoy on the Jews. [351]

AH. 1919. v. 105, May 16, p. 725.

Not signed.

Clemenceau as opponent of anti-Semites. Spokesman of French Republic . . . was Dreyfus champion. [352]

AH. 1919. v. 105, p. 400.

Reprinted in *Jewish voice*, St. Louis, 1919, v. 67, Sept. 5, p. 8; *JExp.*, 1919, v. 69, Sept. 5, p. 1, 9; and in *RA.*, 1919, v. 58, p. 153-155.

Poland and the Jews. [353]

AI. 1919. v. 66, Aug. 28, p. 1.

Reprinted in *RA.*, 1919, v. 58, p. 77-78.

Apropos H. N. Brailsford's *Poland and the Jews in New republic*, 1919, v. 20, p. 78-81.

International protection of religious rights [a bibliography]. [354]

Historical outlook. Philadelphia, 1919. v. 10, p. 515-516.

Educational reforms in Europe in their relation to Jewish emancipation, 1778-1878. [355]

JFo. 1919. v. 2, p. 704-715, 775-788.

Reprinted as a separate, 29 p.

Printed also in *AJHS.P.*, 1922, no. 28, p. 83-132, and reprinted as a separate.

Read at the 26th annual meeting of the Society, Feb. 1918.

Reprinted in *RA.*, 1919, v. 57, p. 151-155, 226-227, 247-251.

Reviewed by Dr. Scherbel in *AZJ.*, 1921, Jahrg. 85, p. 96; and by Peter Wiernik in *Jewish morning journal*, June 11, 1922, p. 5.

Correspondence [regarding the nationality, in the eyes of the law, of the Jews of United States and of Europe]. [356]

RA. 1919. v. 57, p. 711-712.

The international protection of human rights, a hundred years ago and now. [357]

Survey. 1919. v. 43, p. 179-182.

* p. 121-130.

1920

Some notes on Jewish incidents during the second half of the 19th century, with particular reference to Roumania, Russia and Palestine. [358]

Typewritten Ms. 4 f. f°.

Presented before the 28th annual meeting of the AJHS., Feb. 1920.
See *AJHS.P.*, no. 28, p. xxiii.

Disraeli and Jewish emancipation at the Congress of Berlin. [359]

AH. 1920. v. 107, p. 536-537, 542, 544, 562-563.

Reprinted in *JExp.*, 1920, v. 71, Sept. 17, p. 1, 7.

Occasioned by the appearance of the two concluding volumes of Monypenny and Buckle's biography of Lord Beaconsfield.

Jewish representation in the League of Nations; proposal unauthorized. [360]

AH. 1920. v. 107, p. 704-705.

Reprinted in *AI.*, 1920, v. 67, Oct. 21, p. 1 (see his "Errata" *ibid.*, Oct. 28, p. 4); and in *RA.*, 1920, v. 60, p. 290-292.

A. L. Goodhart and the Polish Jewish question. [361]

AH. 1920. v. 108, p. 122-123, 146, 188-194.

Apropos A. L. Goodhart's *Poland and the minority races*.

Reprinted in *RA.*, 1920, v. 60, p. 433-437.

Religious liberty guarantees at the Peace conference. [362]

ALR. 1920. v. 54, p. 855-866.

[Review of Lucien] Wolf's "Notes on the diplomatic history of the Jewish question". London, 1919. [363]

JQR. 1920. new ser., v. 11, p. 120-124.

1921

Baron's "The Jewish question at the Congress of Vienna". [364]

JQR. 1921. new ser., v. 11, p. 405-408.

A review of S. W. Baron, *Die Judenfrage auf dem Wiener Kongress*, Vienna, 1920.

1922

Civil rights in education. [365]

NYT. July 23, 1922, sect. 7, p. 8.

Regarding alleged plans to discriminate in the admission of Jewish students to Harvard College.

Reprinted in *AH.*, 1922, v. 111, p. 268.

1923

The power of truth; how one man [Joseph S. Bloch] fought the most ghastly anti-Jewish fiction—and won. [366]

AH. 1923. v. 113, p. 415, 423, 455, 465.

The death of Dr. Joseph S. Bloch [and his] account of New York Jewry. [367]

AH. 1923. v. 113, p. 566.

Violation of minority protective guarantees of the Peace treaty and the League of Nations. [368]

UAHCAR. 1923. no. 49, p. 9177-9181.

Incorporated in the annual report of the Board of Delegates on Civil Rights.

Anti-Semitic discrimination at American colleges. [369]

UAHC.AR. 1923. no. 49, p. 9181-9183.

This, and p. 9185-9187 *ibid.*, excerpts from the annual report of the Board of Delegates on Civil Rights, were reprinted as a separate, under the above title, Cincinnati, 1923, 11 p.

Racial discrimination at college versus the law of the land. [370]

UAHC.AR. 1923. no. 49, p. 9185-9187.

Reprinted in Simon Wolf, *Selected addresses and papers*, Cincinnati, 1926, p. 329-334.

1924

Palestine and Zionism; some new aspects of the Balfour Declaration now disclosed [in "A history of the Peace Conference of Paris," v. 6, edited by H. W. V. Temperley]. [371]

JExp. 1924. v. 75, Nov. 7, p. 9.

See also *A correcting letter*, *ibid.*, Nov. 14, p. 9.

Reprinted in *RA.*, 1924, v. 68, p. 492-494.

1925

Jews not a nationality. Equal citizens of the Jewish religion is decision of Hungarian Supreme Court. [372]

AH. 1925. v. 116, p. 322.

See *Jewish guardian*, London, 1924, v. 6, Nov. 14, p. 3.

Grotius; his Jewish friends and studies. [373]

AH. 1925. v. 117, p. 572.

Reprinted in *JExp.*, 1925, v. 76, Sept. 18, p. 24.

Satow on Capo d'Istrias. [374]

AJHS.P. 1925. no. 29, p. 154.

[Introduction to] Arthur K. Kuhn, Grotius as an advocate of Jewish emancipation. [375]

JExp. 1925. v. 77, Dec. 25, p. 1, 9.

1926

United States Supreme Court renders decision on language question. Case affecting Chinese in Philippine Islands may have bearing on application of minority rights. [376]

JDB. 1926. v. 3, Aug. 6, p. 3-4.

In case of Yu Cong Eng and Co Liam vs. W. Trinidad, collector of Internal Revenue of Manila.

See 269 U. S., 543 and 271 U. S., 500.

The [constitutional] establishment of religious liberty. [377]

JTr. 1926. v. 89, Nov. 26, p. 5, 50, 60.

"Summary of a paper read before the AJHS."

1927

Light on . . . whether or not the "Jewish issue" can legally be brought into the Ford-Sapiro trial? [378]

JDB. 1927. v. 4, March 28, p. 3-4.

An opinion written by MJK in 1923, at the request of the London Board of Jewish Deputies.

[Protest against Roumanian anti-Jewish excesses.] [379]

RA. 1927. v. 72, p. 744-745.

Reprinted in *Jewish review and observer*, Cleveland, Ohio, 1927, v. 53, Jan. 14, p. 7.

Address on behalf of the I. O. B. B., at a mass-meeting convened by the American Jewish Congress, Hotel Astor, New York, Jan. 2, 1927.

In a somewhat shorter form it was printed in *JDB.*, 1927, v. 4, Jan. 4, p. 3, 5.

See also *BBM.*, 1927, v. 41, p. 192.

1928

The doctrine that "Christianity is a part of the common law" and its recent judicial overthrow in England, with particular reference to Jewish rights. [380]

AJHS.P. 1928. no. 31, p. 105-134.

Appendix: Arguments in favor of Jewish rights at common law, delivered by Lord Chancellor Brougham and Lord Holland, 1833, p. 127-134.

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.

In a shorter form it had appeared in *AI.*, 1925, v. 71, April 30, p. 3 and May 7, p. 5.

What are the issues of the present campaign for the presidency? Max J. Kohler disagrees with Marshall's view *Intolerance no issue.* [381]

JDB. 1928. v. 5, Oct. 21, p. 3-4.

Religious bias. Fremont campaign [in 1856] also marked by an anti-Catholic movement. [382]

NYT. July 15, 1928, sect. 2-3, p. 5.

On the occasion of Gov. Alfred E. Smith's political campaign for the presidency in 1928. See the full text of John W. Davis' radio address on religious intolerance in politics, *ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1928, p. 1, 16.

1929

Some new light on the Dreyfus case. Vienna: [A. Holtzhausen's Successors] 1929. 26 p. 4°. [383]

Repr.: *Studies in Jewish bibliography and related subjects in memory of Abraham Solomon Freidus*, New York, 1929, p. 293-318.

See Lee Glassman, *Ex-Kaiser Wilhelm knew of Dreyfus's innocence*, in *Jewish ledger*, Hartford, Conn., 1929, v. 1, Nov. 26, p. 3; and *Jewish criterion*, Pittsburgh, 1929, v. 75, Nov. 22, p. 5.

Allies of the Klan. [384]

AH. 1929. v. 124, p. 391.

A review of Madison Grant and C. S. Davison, *The founders of the Republic on immigration, naturalization, and aliens.*

* Under heading, *The attitude of the fathers of the Republic*, p. 321-323.

First definite mandate plan credited to General Smuts; his work at Peace Conference of 1918 recalled by conflicting views over Britain's responsibility in Palestine. [385]

NYT. Dec. 1, 1929, sect. 3, p. 5.

The purposes of the Palestinian mandate. [386]

RA. 1929. v. 78, p. 501-502.

1930

The illegality of Bible-reading in New York City's public schools. New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1930. 22 p. nar. 8°. [387]

Repr.: *JTr.*, 1930, v. 96, June 13, p. 1-2, 21, 23; June 20, p. 3, 6-7, 20.

The abrogation of the treaty of 1832 between the United States and Russia and the international protection of religious minorities. [388]

In: Luigi Luzzatti. *God in freedom*. New York, 1930. p. 705-734.

Included in this essay, p. 714-726, is *Address of Louis Marshall on "Russia and the American passport"*, delivered Jan. 19, 1911. See *AJYB.*, 1911, 5672, p. 76-87.

The fathers of the republic and constitutional establishment of religious liberty. [389]

In: Luigi Luzzatti. *God in freedom*. New York, 1930. p. 670-705.

Read before the 34th annual meeting of the AJHS., Oct. 25, 1926; since enlarged.

1931

New Jersey. State Board of Regents.

In the matter of race discrimination at Rutgers University. Brief for complainants. [New York: Pandick Press, 1931.] 30 p. 4°. [390]

Joseph Siegler, William Newcorn, MJK, of counsel.

The conspirators in "L'Affaire Dreyfus"; incredibly sordid details of drama that convulsed French Republic revealed by one of chief characters. [391]

AH. 1931. v. 128, p. 245-246.

Dreyfus case retold. Volume by Jacque Kayser and motion picture version vividly depict affair that convulsed two continents. [392]

AH. 1931. v. 129, p. 267.

Jews as a religious community, not a race. [393]

AJHS.P. 1931. no. 32, p. 127.

1932

[Review of] The international mandate, by Aaron M. Margalith. [394]

AH. 1932. v. 131, p. 49.

Poland grossly violating minority rights of Jews. [395]

JDB. 1932. v. 9, Aug. 14, p. 2.

Abstract of remarks at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, Mass.

Treatment of Poland's Jewish minorities; an address and a rejoinder. [396]

JFo. 1932. v. 15, p. 280-285.

Reprinted in *AH.*, 1932, v. 131, p. 278, 288.

Reprinted as a separate, 8 p., including cover-title.

Paper read at the Round Table of the Institute of Politics, at Williamstown, Mass., Aug. 11, 1932.

Cf. reply by Edward Weintal, *ibid.*

See editorial, *An indictment of Poland*, in *Opinion*, 1932, v. 2, Aug. 22, p. 4-5; *JFo.*, 1932, v. 15, p. 338; and editorial *Zierlich-manierlich* in *The Day*, New York, Aug. 13, 1932, p. 4.

1933

The [Catholic] Church canon law and the Jews. New York: American Jewish Committee, 1933. 5 l. 4°. [397]

Mimeographed.

Abstract of correspondence between Rev. Lawrence J. Riggs of the National Conference of Jews and Christians and MJK.

Issued by the AJC. for its executive committee.

In re: Persecution of the Jews in Germany. New York, 1933.
12 p. 4°. [398]

Caption-title.

A brief, addressed to Secretary of State, Cordell Hull.

. . . The United States and German Jewish persecutions—
precedents for popular and governmental action . . . New
York: Jewish Academy of Arts and Sciences [1933]. 1 p. 1.,
86 p. 8°. (Bulletin of the Jewish Academy of Arts and
Sciences. no. 1.)

— — 2nd ed. 79 p. 8°.

— — Cincinnati: for the Executive Committee of the B'nai
B'rith [1933]. 77 p. 3rd ed. 8°.

— — Cincinnati: B'nai B'rith Executive Committee, 1934.
79 p. 5th ed. 8°. [399]

"Submitted to the Academy . . . June 1, 1933."

p. 31-49, in full, and p. 49-64, in abbreviated form of the 5th edition,
are reprinted in *Congressional record*, Feb. 10, 1934, v. 78, part 3,
p. 2338-2344.

See US., Cong. (73rd, 2nd sess.) S. Res. 120 (the Tydings Resolu-
tion), as reported in *NYT.*, Jan. 9, 1934, p. 13, col. 4.

Reviewed by D. P. Myers in *AJIL.*, 1934, v. 28, p. 210-211; *JCh.*,
1934, Feb. 9, p. 22; and by Louis I. Newman in *Scribe*, Portland, Ore.,
1933, v. 29, Nov. 24, p. 2.

A synopsis is given by Walter Hart Blumenthal in *AH.*, 1934,
v. 134, p. 178, 192, and abstracted by him, under the title *The right of
remonstrance*, *ibid.*, in the issues of Jan. 12, 19, 26, Feb. 2, 9, 16.

Kohler explains petition under Upper Silesian treaty before
the League. [400]

AH. 1933. v. 133, p. 25, 31.

As to the petition of Franz Bernheim.

Reprinted in *Jewish ledger*, New Orleans, La., 1933, v. 77, June 9,
p. 1, 11.

"Jews and minority rights" [by Oscar I. Janowsky]; a pene-
trating appraisal of a timely work, including also hitherto
unrevealed data. [401]

AH. 1933. v. 133, p. 150, 160.

See *Dr Janowsky objects*, *ibid.*, p. 342.

The Steuben Society. [402]

JDB. 1933. v. 10, May 21, p. 12.

A letter to the editor.

Guest editorial. [403]

JDB. 1933. v. 10, July 2, p. 12.

On the Jewish situation in Germany.

American influences on the development of religious liberty in Europe. [404]

Judaeans. 1933. v. 4, p. 34-45.

An address before the *Judaeans*, April 24, 1927, on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the establishment of religious liberty. See, *ibid.*, p. 46-47, *An overlooked anniversary*, an editorial by John H. Finley, "evoked" by this address, reprinted from *NYT.* of April 29, 1927.

An extract is given in *Jewish guardian*, London, 1927, v. 8, May 13, p. 9.

In a shorter form this address appeared in *AH.*, 1927, v. 120, p. 912, 922; and in *RA.*, 1927, v. 73, p. 526, 528-529, 531.

Anti-Semitism in Germany. Representations held justified under that country's pledge to protect religious and racial minorities. [405]

NYT. March 24, 1933, p. 16.

Reprinted in *RA.*, 1933, v. 85, p. 163-164.

1934

Founders of Republic on better understanding. Forthcoming Brotherhood Day recalls inspiring words of our first three presidents on religious liberty and interfaith amity. [406]

AH. 1934. v. 134, p. 471, 482.

Legal steps against propaganda bearers. State Dept. on record opposing foreign controversies in U. S. [407]

JDB. 1934. v. 11, April 20, p. 4; April 23, p. 5.

On the legal aspect of Nazi propaganda in U. S.

A proposed new penal enactment against racial and religious propaganda. [408]

In: M. J. Kohler, ed. *Aryan and Semite*. Cincinnati, 1934. p. 34-38.

IV. VARIA

1884

Generous deed of a Jew. [409]

Sabbath visitor. Cincinnati, 1884. v. 13, p. 79.

A folk story.

A letter to God. Translated from the German of A. Tendlau. [410]

Sabbath visitor. Cincinnati, 1884. v. 13. p. 133.

A few notes on maritime discoveries. [411]

Sabbath visitor. Cincinnati, 1884. v. 13, p. 276-277.

Jewish share in the discoveries of the 15th century.

1885

Sir Moses Montefiore. [412]

Sabbath visitor. Cincinnati, 1885. v. 14, p. 390-391.

1888

[Review of] Herod and Mariamne, by Amélie (Rives) Troubetskoy. [413]

AH. 1888. v. 36, p. 68.

Signed: *Mark* [pseud.].

The battle for conviction. [Review of] Mrs. Humphrey Ward's *Robert Elsmere*. [414]

AH. 1888. v. 36, p. 202-203; v. 37, p. 2-4.

See Philip Cowen, *Memories of an American Jew*, New York, 1932, p. 131.

The religion of the heart. [415]

AH. 1888. v. 37, p. 40-41.

An answer to an editorial objection, *ibid.*, p. 22, of his review of Mrs. Ward's *Robert Elsmere*.

Holland: the holy land of modern Europe. [416]

AH. 1888. v. 37, p. 146-147.

A review of James E. Thorold Rogers, *The story of Holland*, New York, 1889, in *The story of the nations* series.

[Resolution upon the death of James Wallace Totten of the class of 1890.] [417]

[*New York City*] *College journal*. 1888. v. 7, Nov., p. 46.

Signed jointly with Chas. A. Elsberg and Stephen P. Duggan.

1889

[Review of] The beginnings of New England; or, The puritan theocracy in its relations to civil and religious liberty, by John Fiske. [418]

AH. 1889. v. 39, p. 181.

[Review of] Margaret Deland's *John Ward, preacher*. [419]

AH. 1889. v. 39, p. 212-213.

See Philip Cowen, *Memories of an American Jew*, New York, 1932, p. 131-132.

Tancred; or, The new crusade; a problem. [420]

AH. 1889. v. 41, p. 29-30.

"The problem that confronted Tancred is still valid in our own day."

The distinctive characteristics of our government. [421]

[*New York City*] *College journal*. June 1889. p. 205-207.

Reprinted in *AH.*, 1889, v. 39, p. 161-162.

The Riggs Junior prize essay at the College of the City of New York.

1890

Important errors corrected. [422]

AH. 1890. v. 44, p. 103.

The "errors" are ascribed to the editor's interpretation of certain statements made by Dr. K. Kohler. Cf. *A correction*, an editorial, *ibid.*, p. 102.

Shelley's "The Cenci". [423]

College review. 1890. v. 1, April, p. 21-30.

The Kelly Prize Critique, at the College of the City of New York, for 1888.

Bismarck as a statesman. [424]

College review. 1890. v. 1, June, p. 4-9.

The Riggs Senior prize essay at the College of the City of New York, 1890.

Trevelyan's Life of Macaulay. [425]

College review. 1890. v. 1, June, p. 14-19.

The Kelly Prize Critique, at the College of the City of New York, for 1890.

Irving's life of Washington. [426]

[*New York City*] *College journal.* 1890. p. 27-30.

The Kelly Critique prize for 1889, at the College of the City of New York.

Secret fraternities in American colleges. [427]

[*New York City*] *College mercury.* 1890. v. 11, Jan. 8, p. 56-59.

To the editor of the College mercury. [428]

[*New York City*] *College mercury.* 1890. v. 11, Jan. 8, p. 60.

A letter urging the establishment of a college literary magazine.

1892

A latter-day Wilhelm Meister; a study [of Mrs. Humphrey Ward's *The history of David Grieve*]. [429]

AH. 1892. v. 50, p. 2-4.

Genius and works of Nathaniel Hawthorne. [430]

Irving magazine. New York (?) 1892. v. 1, no. 3, p. 67-76.

Marshall Saxe and an 18th century project for the restoration of a Jewish kingdom. [431]

MMo. 1892. v. 12, p. 359-362.

Reprinted in *RA*., 1892, v. 3, p. 386-387.

1893

History and progress of civil service reform in the national, state, and local governments of the United States. [432]

Typewritten Ms. 105 f. f°.

Winning prize essay (\$100.00) at the Columbia University Law School, May 1893.

Rabbis and local politics. [433]

AH. 1893. v. 54, p. 53-54.

On the impropriety of an appeal signed by a number of rabbis urging the election of a certain candidate for the Assembly.

1894

[Review of] Life's little ironies, by Thomas Hardy. [434]

AH. 1894. v. 54, p. 793-794.

Mrs. [Humphrey] Ward's "Marcella".. [A review.] [435]

AH. 1894. v. 54, p. 796-798.

1895

The story of Bessie Costrell. [By Mrs. Humphrey Ward. A review.] [436]

AH. 1895. v. 57, p. 475-476.

1896

The Jews and Charles II of England. [437]

AH. 1896. v. 58, p. 689-690.

Jewish ideals. [438]

AH. 1896. v. 60, p. 172-173.

A review of Joseph Jacobs' *Jewish ideals and other essays*.

1897

[Review of] The beginners of a nation, by Edward Eggleston. [439]

AH. 1897. v. 60, p. 515-516.

Charles Dickens and the Jews. [440]

AH. 1897. v. 61, p. 611.

Reproduces correspondence between E. [Eliza Davis] and Dickens, regarding the latter's delineation of Fagin in *Oliver Twist*. The letters were copied from *Jewish times*, New York, 1870, v. 2, p. 277-278, which in turn were copied from *JCh.*, of that period.

1898

Jews and the administration of our criminal laws. [441]

AH. 1898. v. 62, p. 641.

[Joseph] Addison on Jews. [442]

MMo. 1898. v. 24, p. 15-17.

1899

The reparation of judicial records; methods of review in criminal cases in the United States. London: P. S. King & Son, 1899. 38 p. 8°. [443]

Repr.: J. H. Levy, ed., *The necessity of criminal appeal as illustrated by the Maybrick case and the jurisprudence of various countries*, London, 1899.

Rabbi Schulman, the Zangwill play and some *American Hebrew* correspondence. [444]

AH. 1899. v. 66, p. 75-76.

See two letters on Sunday Jewish services by Alb. Lucas, *ibid.*, p. 41-42, which inspired the present letter.

Admission of evidence illegally obtained. [445]

NYLJ. 1899. v. 21, p. 1742.

See letter of S. Bernstein, *ibid.*, p. 1792.

Reprinted in *Albany law journal*, Albany, N. Y., 1899, v. 60, p. 204-206.

1900

A visit to Ober-Ammergau. [446]

AH. 1900. v. 67, p. 522-524.

Reprinted in part, under the title *A Jewish view of the Passion play*, in *Literary digest*, 1900, v. 21, p. 469.

Jewish life in Germany to-day. [447]

Jewish messenger. New York, 1900. v. 88, p. 1-2.

1901

Addison, Joseph, p. 188-189.—Addison, Lancelot, p. 189. [448-449]

JEn. 1901. v. 1.

1902

The Jew in pre-Shakespearean literature. [450]

JExp. 1902. v. 35, July 11, p. 1-2.

Reprinted in *RA.*, 1902, v. 23, p. 643-644, 654-657.

Read before the Jewish Chautauqua Society Summer Assembly, July 7, 1902. See *Public Ledger*, Philadelphia, July 8, 1902.

Bibliography of Writings of Max James Kohler—Coleman. 239

Max Kohler on George Eliot. [451]

JExp. 1902. v. 35, July 18, p. 7.

A synopsis, with extracts, from this address before the Jewish Chautauqua Society, Atlantic City, is given in the *Times*, Philadelphia, July 12, 1902.

Pleas and records from the Exchequer of the Jews, 1220-1284. [452]

Maccabaeon. New York, 1902. v. 2, p. 250-252.

A review of *Select pleas, starrs and other records from the Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, A.D. 1220-1284*, edited by J. M. Rigg for the Jewish Historical and the Selden societies, London, 1902.

The Jew's daughter; further comment on the middle age myth recently discussed in these columns. [453]

NYDT. Aug. 25, 1902, p. 3, col. 3.

Cf. H. E. Krehbiel, *The Jew's daughter; a gruesome ballad and its variants—significance of a little ditty [It rained a mist] sung by Miss Annie Russell [in Clyde Fitch's "The girl and the judge"]*, *ibid.*, Aug. 17, 1902, part 2, p. 2.

Frederick the Great pointed out as a foe of America. Protest against erection of the Potsdam statue here. Max J. Kohler shows how the German emperor opposed us during the Revolution, allowing rifling of envoy's papers, laughed at flagrant violation of international law by British. [454]

New York herald. June 29, 1902, sect. 1-2, p. 6.

1903

An extradition decision. [455]

NYT. March 1, 1903, p. 6.

An editorial, submitted by MJK. It relates to a decision by the United States Supreme Court in re *State of New York ex rel. Charles E. Corkran, vs. Jas. L. Hyatt*, chief of police of Albany, N. Y., and involved a question of interstate extradition. See 188 U. S., 691.

1904

The Kohler interview. [456]

AH. 1904. v. 75, p. 662.

Refers to an interview given by K. Kohler to I. L. Bril. See *The H. U. C. and American Judaism, ibid.*, p. 573.

A rejoinder. [457]

AH. 1904. v. 75, p. 689.

The rejoinder is to an editorial, *Illiberal Judaism, ibid.*, p. 658, which criticized certain remarks of Kaufmann Kohler about Zionism.

A review of the year 5664. [458]

JCo. 1904. v. 19, Sept. 9, p. 1-4; Sept. 16, p. 3-5.

1905

The house of David. [A review of the *JEn.*, v. 9.] [459]

NYTBR. 1905. March 25, p. 4, or 180.

1908

The Judaeans. [460]

AH. 1908. v. 82, p. 437.

A letter to the editor.

Early Jewish solicitors. [461]

JCh. 1908. Nov. 6, p. 30.

Cf. A. M. Hyamson, *ibid.*, Dec. 4, p. 35.

See item 103.

1910

Classes at the [Educational] Alliance to be given up; the good work will be continued by the City. [462]

AH. 1910. v. 86, p. 508.

See editorial comment, *ibid.*, p. 513.

See also *Immigration classes won't be abolished in NYT.*, March 15, 1910, p. 18, col. 3-4.

1912

[Review of] *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, von W. Sombart. [463]

AER. 1912. v. 2, p. 81-84.

Bar examination. [464]

NYDT. March 22, 1912, p. 6.

As to the present procedure regarding admission to the practice of law.

1913

[Review of] *Randbemerkungen zu Werner Sombarts "Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben"*, by M. Steckelmacher, Berlin, 1912. [465]

AER. 1913. v. 3, p. 108-109.

1914

Year book [5675] of the Jewish Publication Society. [466]

AH. 1914. v. 96, p. 104.

Reprinted in *JCo.*, 1914, v. 44, p. 88-89 (see *Hitting the J. P. S.*, *ibid.*, p. 90); and in *JExp.*, 1914, v. 60, Nov. 20, p. 1 (See editorial, *ibid.*, Nov. 27, p. 4).

1915

Yiddish literature night at the Judaeans. [467]

AH. 1915. v. 96, p. 495, 499.

As to the meeting held March 7, 1915.

A jury's discretion; an argument against extending it to capital punishment. [468]

NYT. Sept. 3, 1915, p. 8.

A letter to the editor.

1917

Ibsen on the advantages resulting from Jewish dispersion. [469]

AH. 1917. v. 100, p. 755.

1919

[Review of] Prime ministers and some others; a book of reminiscences, by G. E. W. Russell. [470]

AH. 1919. v. 105, p. 197-198.

1925

[Review of] Security against war, by Frances Kellor and A. Hatvany. [471]

AH. 1925. v. 117, p. 363.

[Review of] International law and some current illusions and other essays, by John B. Moore. [472]

AH. 1925. v. 117, p. 620-621.

[Statement.] [473]

In: *Foreign Policy Assoc., Pamphlet*. New York [1925]. no. 35, p. 23-24.

In a symposium on: *The significance of Locarno*, led by Mlle. Louise Weiss and Jas. G. McDonald, Hotel Astor, New York, Nov. 21, 1925.

[Statement.] [474]

In: *Foreign Policy Assoc., Pamphlet*. New York [1925]. no. 36, p. 24-25.

In a symposium on: *The conflict of policies in China*, led by Dr. Ping Wen Kuo, Hotel Astor, New York, Dec. 5, 1925.

1926

The invalidity of rabbinical divorces; legal aspects of a problem of interest to Jews at home and abroad. [475]

JExp. 1926. v. 77, March 5, p. 1, 13.

1928

Theodore Reinach; Adolph Stern and Henri Bergson. [476]

AH. 1928. v. 124, p. 232-233.

Aaron Aaronsohn, agricultural explorer. [477]

AJHS.P. 1928. no. 31, p. 197-210.

Bibliography, p. 210.

In collaboration with Gabriel Davidson.

Reprinted as a separate, with cover-title.

[On the cultural value of the study of Jewish history and literature for college and university students.] [478]

JDB. 1928. v. 5, Nov. 1, p. 4.

A letter to the editor.

[On the decision of the Non-Zionist Conference, Oct. 21, 1928, in favor of an enlarged Jewish Agency for Palestine.] [479]

JDB. 1928. v. 5, Nov. 2, p. 3, 6.

MJK urged and voted for the decision.

1929

Dr. N. M. Gelber's book [Zur Vorgeschichte des Zionismus] and his literary honesty. [480]

AH. 1929. v. 124, p. 328.

Cf. Gelber's reply and MJK's counter-reply, *ibid.*, p. 731.

Scott, Smollett and the Jews. [481]

AH. 1929. v. 125, p. 136.

[Review of] Houston Stewart Chamberlain: Briefe 1882-1924 und Briefwechsel mit Kaiser Wilhelm II. [482]

AH. 1929. v. 125, p. 166.

1930

[Review of] The labor injunction, by Felix Frankfurter and N. Greene. [483]

AH. 1930. v. 127, p. 237.

[Review of] Criminal justice in America, by Roscoe Pound. [484]

AH. 1930. v. 128, p. 183.

1931

[Review of] Studies in the history of American law, with special reference to the 17th and 18th centuries, by Richard B. Morris. [485]

AH. 1931. v. 128, p. 226.

De Hirsch centenary next week. [486]

AH. 1931. v. 130, p. 89, 109.

Based on an address delivered before the 38th annual meeting of the AJHS., New York, Nov. 15, 1931. See *AJHSP.*, no. 33, p. xviii. See also his *Centenary today of baron Maurice de Hirsch*, in *JDB.*, 1931, v. 8, Dec. 9, p. 3.

* p. 423-424.

Influence of legal opinion on American thought. [487]

NYLJ. Feb. 2, 1931, p. 2228.

Report to the New York County Lawyers Association. Scores immunity bill. [488]

NYT. March 13, 1931, p. 2, col. 5.

Extracts from report of its Legislative Committee, opposing the Hofstadter bill requiring public officials to waive immunity on their official acts.

1932

Taxation and the saloon. Federal government might use one to prevent the other. [489]

NYT. Nov. 17, 1932, p. 18.

1933

Nathan Rothschild's services to England, Germany and their allies in the Napoleonic wars. [490]

AH. 1933. v. 133, p. 398.

[Review of] Religious foundations of internationalism, by Norman Bentwich. [491]

AH. 1933. v. 133, p. 402.

Lawyers oppose 2 bills on repeal. [492]

NYT. Feb. 12, 1933, sect. 2, p. 1, 3.

Extracts from report of the Legislative Committee of the NYCoLA. on bills then pending in the New York state Senate and Assembly, on the proposed 21st constitutional amendment.

1934

Privileged, confidential character of information imparted to social workers. [New York, 1934] 4 1. 4°. [493]

Caption-title.

From the legal point of view.

Repr.: *Jewish social service quarterly*, 1934, v. 10, p. 253-257.

[Remarks on C. L. Bouvé's "Status of foreigners under Soviet treaties".] [494]

American Society of International Law, Proceedings. 1934. v. 28, p. 124-126.

In the matter of the certificate of incorporation of the German Jewish Children's Aid, Incorporated. [495]

New York (state). Courts of record. Miscellaneous reports. 1934. v. 151, p. 834-840.

MJK, for the petitioner, in Supreme Court, New York country, June 7, 1934.

Job insurance bill called illegal. [496]

NYT. April 8, 1934, sect. 2, p. 7.

Extracts from report of the Committee on Legislation of the NYCoLA., on the Byrne bill for compulsory unemployment insurance.

Report of the Committee on Legislation of the New York County Lawyers Association. [497]

RA. 1934. v. 87, p. 102, 110.

On the Breitbart Assembly (N. Y. state) bill 685, Pr. 696, which seeks to amend the Civil Rights law by inserting a new section, 40b, entitled *Dissemination of propaganda injurious to the members of any race or religious belief*.

See also *The Breitbart bill* in *AH.*, 1934, v. 134, p. 321; and editorial comment, *ibid.*, p. 317, 332.

V. WORKS EDITED

The settlement of the Jews in North America, by Charles P. Daly . . . Edited, with notes and appendices, by Max J. Kohler . . . New York: Philip Cowen, 1893. xviii p., 1 l., 171 [1] p. 8°. [498]

Repr.: *AH.*, 1893, v. 52, p. 513-516, 545-547, 577-580, 609-611, 641-643, 675-678, 713-714, 738-740, 769-772, 806-807, 847-849; v. 53, p. 13-14, 48-51, 79-82, 113-117, 148-150, 177-180, 207-210.

Reviewed in *NYT.*, Sept. 4, 1893, p. 3; and in *Sun*, New York, Oct. 22, 1893, sect. 2, p. 2, col. 2-4.

Souvenir book of the fair in aid of the Educational Alliance and Hebrew Technical Institute. New York: De Leeuw & Oppenheimer [1895]. 144 p. illus., ports., facsim. 4°. [499]

"Introductory," p. 7, signed: *Max J. Kohler*.

This volume, edited by MJK, contains, besides literary articles, sketches of many Jewish charitable and religious organizations of New York City.

The Judaeans. [Judaeian addresses selected.] New York: The Society, 1899-1933. 8°. [500]

v. [1]. 1897-1899. 2. 1900-1917. 3. 1918-1926. 4. 1926-1932.

Edited by MJK.

Truth versus fiction; justice versus prejudice; meat for all, not for a few. A plain and unvarnished statement why exclusion laws against the Chinese should not be re-enacted. Respect treaties and make general, not special laws. [New York? 1901?] 81 p. incl. front. (illus.). 8°. [501]

Cover-title.

Edited by MJK.

The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of the Jews in the United States 1655-1905; addresses delivered at Carnegie Hall, New York, on Thanksgiving Day, MCMV, together with other selected addresses and proceedings. [New York: New York Co-operative Society, 1906] xiii, 262 p., 1 l. incl. front. 8°. [502]

Engraved t.-p.

Prepared for publication by MJK.

This volume is identical with *AJHSP.*, no. 14.

The injustice of a literacy test for immigrants . . . [Edited] by Max J. Kohler. New York, 1912. 27 p. incl. cover-title. 8°. [503]

A second edition, much enlarged, 47 p., appeared the same year, and was reprinted in *Congressional record*, Jan. 30, 1913, v. 49, part 3, p. 2302-2311.

The registration of aliens a dangerous project. Edited by Max J. Kohler. [New York, 1924?] 56 p. 8°. [504]

Cover-title.

Preface, p. 3-7.

The selections herein reprinted summarize the arguments in opposition to the registration provisions of H. R. 10860.

Reviewed in *AI.*, 1925, v. 71, April 2, p. 5.

The registration of aliens a dangerous project, including the proceedings of a luncheon conference in opposition to the registration of aliens and deportation bills, held at the Hotel Astor, New York City, January 9th, 1926. Edited by Max J. Kohler. [New York] 1926. 134 p. 2nd ed. 8°. [505]

Cover-title.

Preface, p. 3-21.

Selected addresses and papers of Simon Wolf; a memorial volume, together with a biographical sketch. Cincinnati: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1926. 355 p. front. (port.) 8°. [506]

"Foreword," p. 7-11, signed jointly with Arthur H. Sulzberger, Ludwig Vogelstein, and David Philipson.

Reviewed in *AI.*, 1926, v. 73, Nov. 18, p. 5; and in *JTr.*, 1927, v. 90, March 4, p. 41.

God in freedom; studies in the relations between church and state, by the late Luigi Luzzatti . . . translated from the Italian by Alfonso Arbib-Costa, with American supplementary chapters by President William H. Taft, Hon. Irving Lehman, Louis Marshall, Max J. Kohler, Dr. Dora Askowith. Issued in commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the constitutional establishment of religious liberty. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930. xxxix, 794 p. front. (port.) 4°. [507]

Editor's Preface, p. xiii-xvi, signed: *Max J. Kohler*.

The present translation is from the author's enlarged edition of 1926.

Reviewed by Albert M. Friedenberg in *AH.*, Nov. 28, 1930, v. 128, p. 843, and editorially, *ibid.*, p. 157, 176; by Walter Littlefield in *NYTBR.*, Dec. 7, 1930, p. 24, 26. Noted in *Bloch's book bulletin*, 1930, no. 10, p. 7.

The registration of aliens, voluntary or compulsory, a dangerous project. Supplementary pamphlet. Edited by Max J. Kohler. New York: League for American Citizenship, 1930. 39 p. 8°. [508]

Cover-title.

Preface, p. 3-11.

* Under heading, *A dangerous project*, p. 363-388.

Aryan and Semite, with particular references to Nazi racial dogmas; addresses delivered before the Judaeans and the Jewish Academy of Arts and Sciences, March 4th, 1934, in New York City, by Professor Franz Boas, Dr. Maurice Fishberg, Professor Ellsworth Huntington: Max J. Kohler, presiding. Cincinnati: B'nai B'rith, 1934. 38 p. 8°. [509]

"Introductory remarks," by MJK, p. 3-8.

VI. UNPUBLISHED HISTORICAL PAPERS

The following papers were delivered by MJK at the annual meetings of the AJHS., without, insofar as the compiler has been able to ascertain, their having been printed anywhere—at least, not under the titles given below. They are here recorded for the sake of completeness. Some of them, in manuscript form, are in possession of the Society.

Bibliography of Writings of Max James Kohler—Coleman. 249

The New York Jewish community, 1800-1860. I. [510]

Jacob Philadelphia and his petition to Frederick the Great concerning a proposed treaty with the United States, 1783. [511]

At the 14th meeting, Baltimore, March 1906.

See *AJHSP.*, no. 16, p. xi.

Adolphe Crémieux, champion of Jewish rights at home and abroad. [512]

At the 17th meeting, Philadelphia, Feb. 1909.

See *AJHSP.*, no. 18, p. xii.

[Wilhelm] Roscher's classical essay on the "Jews in the middle ages from the standpoint of general commercial policy" (1875), its precursors and successors. [513]

See Roscher's essay in *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaft, Tübingen*, 1875, Bd. 31, p. 503-526. Reprinted in his *Ansichten der Volkswirtschaft*, 3. Aufl., Leipzig, 1878, Bd. 2, p. 321-354.

At the 18th meeting, New York, Feb. 1910.

See *AJHSP.*, no. 19, p. xiii.

Moroccan Jewish rights at the Algeiras Conference. [514]

At the 29th meeting, Philadelphia, Feb. 1921.

See *AJHSP.*, no. 28, p. xxxiii.

Jean de Bloch (I. S. Blioch), champion of international disarmament, advocate of Russian Jewish emancipation and worker for Russian economic development. [515]

In collaboration with Bernard A. Palitz.

At the 30th meeting, New York, April 1922.

See *AJHSP.*, no. 29, p. xv.

At the 33rd meeting, New York, Feb. 1925, the same paper, recorded as in collaboration with Joshua Bloch, was read by him by title. See *ibid.*, no. 31, p. xvii.

Some additional notes on Judah P. Benjamin. [516]

In collaboration with Edward N. Calisch.

Historical evolution of the right of Jews to own land in Europe and the United States. [517]

Communications from the Russian, Prussian, Austrian, and English governments to the Senate of Frankfort-am-Main in 1816, probably the earliest joint governmental representation on behalf of the Jews in modern times. [518]

In collaboration with Aron Freimann.

At the 33rd meeting, New York, Feb. 1925.

See *AJHS.P.*, no. 31, p. xvi, xvii.

Historical outline of anti-Semitism in the United States [519]

The Jews of Barbados before 1776, and their commercial connections. [520]

At the 36th meeting, New York, Feb. 1929.

See *AJHS.P.*, no. 32, p. xiii.

Services rendered by the Seligmans, Rothschilds and August Belmont to the United States during the Civil War and the seventies. [521]

In collaboration with Joseph L. Rubin.

At the 39th meeting, New York, Oct. 1933.

See *AJHS.P.*, no. 33, p. xxv.

VII. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS OF HELP

Adler, Cyrus. Address [before the 22nd annual meeting, Philadelphia, Feb. 1914]. (In: *AJHS.P.* no. 22.) [522]

p. xxi: "The publication [of *AJHS.P.*, no. 21, The Lyons collection, v. 1] was made possible . . . by the untiring labors of the special committee . . . and the earlier work [on that Committee] of Mr. Max J. Kohler."

Adler, Cyrus. A contemporary memorial relating to damages to Spanish interests in America done by Jews of Holland (1634). (In: *AJHS.P.* no. 17.) [523]

p. 45: "It [the information as to the existence of such a document] was called to my attention by Mr. Kohler . . ."

Bibliography of Writings of Max James Kohler—Coleman. 251

Braunstein, Baruch. *The Chuetas of Majorca conversos and the Inquisition of Majorca*. Scottdale, Pa. [cop. 1936]. (Columbia University. Oriental series. v. 28.) [523a]

Acknowledgment, p. viii: "Many other persons were kind enough to encourage the author in his work and to make suggestions from time to time. Among these are . . . the late Max J. Kohler, Esq., of New York."

Brown, Heywood, and George Britt. *Christians only; a study in prejudice*. New York [cop. 1931]. [524]

Thanks, 3rd prelim. leaf: "The authors wish to give credit for help particularly to . . . Max J. Kohler [and others]."

Butler, Pierce. *Judah P. Benjamin*. Philadelphia [cop. 1906]. (American crisis biographies.) [525]

Preface, p. 10: "Mr. Max J. Kohler, of New York, also furnished me with a copy of his excellent monograph upon Mr. Benjamin, and put me upon the track of several other sources of information. The most fruitful of these proved to be a small collection of letters from Mr. Benjamin to Messrs. James A. and Thomas F. Bayard." See also *ibid.*, p. 433.

Clark, Jane Perry. *Deportation of aliens from the United States to Europe*. New York, 1931. (Columbia University. Studies in history, economics and public law, ed. by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. no. 351.) [526]

Preface, p. 17: "She also desires to acknowledge her gratitude especially to . . . and Mr. Max Kohler of the New York Bar, who have all read the study in manuscript form and offered much constructive criticism which the author wishes most thankfully to acknowledge."

Coolidge, Mary Roberts. *Chinese immigration*. New York, 1909. [527]

Preface, p. vii-viii: "Yet out of many [to whom my obligations are due] I must formally name . . . Mr. Max J. Kohler of New York City and . . . who contributed legal information on the operation of the exclusion laws."

Davis, Helen I. Bret Harte and his Jewish ancestor Bernard Hart. (In: *AJHS.P.* no. 32.) [528]

p. 111: "I am greatly indebted to Max J. Kohler for his continuous counsel and assistance to me in the preliminary work and preparation of this paper."

Friedenberg, Albert M. Calendar of American Jewish cases. (In: *AJHS.P.* no. 12.) [529]

p. 87: "Several other [cases] Max J. Kohler, Esq., kindly pointed out to me."

Friedenberg, Albert M. The Jews of New Jersey from the earliest time to 1850. (In: *AJHS.P.* no. 17.) [530]

p. 40: "This [information as to the establishment of the *New Jersey Journal*, by David Franks, in Camden, in 1778] I owe to Max J. Kohler, Esq."

Friedenberg, Albert M. Miscellanea. (In: *AJHS.P.* no. 28.) [531]

p. 251: "To this material [about Alfred Mordecai] the following letter [from Winfield Scott to Henry Brevoort, dated Oct. 8, 1833] supplied by Max J. Kohler, from . . . may be added."

Friedenberg, Albert M. Report of the Foreign Archives Committee. (In: *AJHS.P.* no. 23.) [532]

p. 100: "I ought to add that Max J. Kohler, Esq., has knowledge of Herr [David] Wassermann's activity in this line of archival research [*i. e.* information of American Jewish interest in German governmental archives], for, I recall that, in the summer of 1912, he showed me a letter which either described or bore directly upon it."

Friedenberg, Albert M. Solomon Heydenfeldt; a Jewish jurist of Alabama and California. (In: *AJHS.P.* no. 10.) [533]

p. 132: "For this second reference [W. J. Davis, *History of political conventions in California, 1849-1892*], I am indebted to Max J. Kohler, Esq."

Goldstein, Israel. A century of Judaism in New York: B'nai Jeshurun 1825-1925. New York, 1930. [534]

Preface, p. xiii: "To Mr. Max J. Kohler and to Dr. Joshua Bloch, the author is grateful for their kindness in reading parts of the manuscript and for placing at his disposal many of the books necessary for the research."

Hollander, Jacob H. Some further references to Haym Salomon. (In: *AJHS.P.* no. 3.) [535]

p. 7: "The memoranda here appended have been courteously contributed . . . by Mr. Max J. Kohler, A. M., of New York, to whose careful research so many noteworthy studies in American Jewish history are due."

Huhner, Leon. Whence came the first Jewish settlers of New York? (In: *AJHS.P.* no. 9.) [536]

p. 82: "Since this paper was written, Mr. Max J. Kohler has called my attention to a book entitled . . ."

Isaacs, Myer S. Sampson Simson. (In: *AJHS.P.* no. 10.) [537]

p. 116: "My thanks are due to Hon. N. Taylor Phillips and Mr. Max Kohler for references as to Mr. Simson's career."

Janowsky, Oscar I. The Jews and minority rights (1898-1919). New York, 1933. (Columbia University. Studies in history, economics and public law, ed. by the Faculty of political science. no. 384.) [538]

Foreword, p. 9-10: Thanks are due to . . . M. J. Kohler . . . for granting me interviews which served to clarify many doubtful points."

Jewish Studies in memory of George A. Kohut 1874-1933. Edited by Salo W. Baron and Alexander Marx. New York, 1935. [539]

Preface, p. iv, signed by "The editors": "With profound regret we also note the absence of a contribution in the field of American Jewish history, nearest of all to the heart of Dr. Kohut. Dr. Max J. Kohler, who on May 5, 1934 had promised an article on *The Jews and the Emancipation of the Slaves in the West Indies and the United States*, passed away shortly after."

Joseph, Samuel. History of the Baron de Hirsch Fund.
[Philadelphia, 1935.] [540]

Preface, p. x: "His greatest obligation is to the members of the committee of the Baron de Hirsch Fund who were charged with the issuance of this work—Mr. Solomon G. Rosenbaum, Mr. Eugene S. Benjamin and the late Mr. Max J. Kohler, chairman of the committee. They read all the chapters, made innumerable suggestions of value, and discussed mooted points in conference with the author."

Kohler, Kaufmann. The origins of the synagogue and the church. Edited by H. G. Enelow. New York, 1929. [541]

Preface, p. vi: "Our thanks are due to members of Dr. Kohler's family . . . and especially to . . . Dr. Max J. Kohler for numerous suggestions, as well as constant interest and help."

Kohler, Kaufmann. Studies, addresses and personal papers.
[Edited by the Publication Committee of the Alumni Association of the Hebrew Union College.] New York. 1931.
[542]

Preface, p. vi: "To . . . Dr. Max J. Kohler . . . we are indebted for collecting the material, for reading the proofs, and for other forms of help which facilitated the publication. Dr. Max J. Kohler also prepared the Bibliography, which will enhance the worth of this book to students and admirers of his sainted father."

Lebeson, Anita (Libman). Jewish pioneers in America, 1492-1848. New York [cop. 1931]. [543]

Preface, 4th prelim. leaf: "Mr. Max J. Kohler and Mr. Leon Huhner, distinguished contributors to the field of American Jewish history, generously allowed me access to available manuscript and photostat material. To Mr. Kohler I am especially indebted for permission to reproduce some of the photographs which appear in *Jewish pioneers in America*."

Lebowich, Joseph. The Jews in Boston till 1875. (In: *AJHS.P.* no. 12.) [544]

p. 101: "I wish to express here my grateful appreciation of assistance and advice, both in the preparation of this paper and in other work, so freely and cheerfully given by Mr. Max J. Kohler."

Levi, Harry. Jewish characters in fiction, English literature. Philadelphia [cop. 1903]. [545]

A word of preface, p. [5]: "That more mistakes have not crept in, is due largely to the valuable assistance of Mr. Max J. Kohler, to whom I am indebted more than I can say. In the field herein traversed, Mr. Kohler is an authority of whose kindly aid I have gladly availed myself."

Moïse, Lucius C. Biography of Isaac Harby, with an account of the Reformed Society of Israelites of Charleston, S. C., 1824-1833. [Columbia, S. C., 1931.] [546]

Preface, p. xiii: "Mr. Max J. Kohler of New York City was also very helpful in offering material and pointing out sources of information."

Oppenheim, Samuel. An early Jewish colony in western Guiana, 1658-1666, and its relation to the Jews of Surinam, Cayenne and Tobago. (In: *AJHS.P.* no. 16.) [547]

p. 106: "The writer is indebted to Mr. Max J. Kohler for this reference to Dr. Grunwald's work [*Portuguesengräber auf deutscher Erde*]."

p. 125: "To Mr. Max J. Kohler thanks are due for calling attention to this article [in *English historical review*, v. 16, p. 640]."

Rosenbach, A. S. W. An American Jewish bibliography. (*AJHS.P.* no. 30.) [548]

Preface, p. xiii: "It gives me pleasure at this time to express my obligations to Max J. Kohler, Esq., one of the Vice-Presidents . . ."

Rosendale, Simon W. An early ownership of real estate in Albany, New York, by a Jewish trader. (In: *AJHS.P.* no. 3.) [549]

p. 68: "Through the courtesy of Mr. Max J. Kohler, I have been furnished with a copy of this inventory [of the estate of Asser Levy], made February 9, 1682."

Simon, Abram. Notes of Jewish interest in the District of Columbia. (In: *AJHS.P.* no. 26.) [550]

p. 211: "Max J. Kohler who had heard of it [the 'tradition' that German-speaking Jews, Catholics and Protestants met regularly for

joint worship in Washington, D. C., in 1832] called my attention to the precise language used by Mr. Justice Hagner in the famous Ebbinghaus-Killian case."

Solis, Elvira N. Some references to early Jewish cemeteries in New York City. (In: *AJHS.P.* no. 8.) [551]

p. 135: "The writer is indebted to Max J. Kohler, Esq., of New York, for a number of the references."

Stroock, Solomon M. Switzerland and American Jews. (In: *AJHS.P.* no. 11.) [552]

p. 7: "The writer expresses his grateful appreciation of the invaluable assistance and advice so freely given him by Mr. Max J. Kohler, in the preparation of this paper."

Wiernik, Peter. History of the Jews in America, from the period of the discovery of the new world to the present time. New York, 1912. [553]

Preface, p. v: "The principal sources which were utilized in the preparation of this work are: . . . *The Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (20 vols., 1893-1911) . . . *The settlement of the Jews in North America*, by Judge Charles P. Daly, edited by Max J. Kohler (New York, 1893) . . . My indebtedness to them is hereby gratefully acknowledged."

Wolf, Simon. The American Jew as patriot, soldier and citizen. Philadelphia, 1895. [554]

Introduction, p. 11: "I owe many thanks to . . . Mr. Max J. Kohler . . ."

VIII. BIOGRAPHICAL

Max J. Kohler [a biographic sketch]. [1]

AJYB. 1904. 5665, p. 129.

Der Kampf für die Einwanderungsfreiheit in Amerika. By C. Benedikt. [2]

Dr. Bloch's oesterreichische Wochenschrift. Wien, 1912. Jahrg. 29, p. 359-361.

An account of the record of MJK in combating the Dillingham-Burnett Immigration Bill.

See also C. Benedikt, *Das Asylrecht des Einwanderers, ibid.*, 1914, Jahrg. 31, p. 342-343.

[As to the services of MJK in defeating the "character-certificate" clause in the immigration bill.] [3]

AI. 1913. v. 59, Feb. 6, p. 4, col. 3.

Reprinted in *AH.*, 1913, v. 92, p. 438.

Max J. Kohler. By Herman Eliassof. [3a]

In his: *German-American Jews*. Chicago [1915]. p. 29.

Repr.: *Deutsch-Amerikanische historische Gesellschaft von Illinois, Jahrbuch*, Jahrg. 1914, p. 317-391.

[Max J. Kohler.] By Louis Rittenberg. [4]

AH. 1931. v. 128, p. 332, 344.

In his: *Young men at sixty*.

.מאקס דזשיימס קאהלער. By Abba I. Krim. [5]

Der Amerikaner. 1933. v. 31, Feb. 24, p. 1, 26.

Protagonist of Jewish rights dies. Max J. Kohler, authority on Jewish-Americana, a distinguished jurist, scholar and writer. By Louis Rittenberg. [6]

AH. 1934. v. 135, July 27, inside front cover.

Tributes, reprinted from *NYT.*, of July 25, 1934, are reprinted *ibid.*, p. 201. See also editorial, p. 189.

Max J. Kohler [a poem]. By Leon Huhner. [7]

AH. 1934. v. 136, p. 48.

Reprinted *AJHS.P.*, 1936, no. 34 p. 301, and in [*New York*] *City college alumnus*, 1934, v. 30, p. 139.

A gallant defender of Israel. By Bernard G. Richards. [8]

BBM. 1934. v. 48, p. 388, 395, 408.

Max J. Kohler; a tribute. By Abram I. Elkus. [9]

BBM. 1934. v. 48, p. 390, 410.

Port. of MJK on front cover.

Reprinted under various titles in a number of American Jewish periodicals of Aug. 1934.

- A fond farewell. By Alfred M. Cohen. [10]
BBM. 1934. v. 48, p. 400-401.
- מאכס קוהלר By Leo Shpall. [11]
 הדואר 1934. v. 14, p. 656.
- Obituary. [12]
JCh. 1934. Aug. 3, p. 10.
- De mortuis: Max J. Kohler, '90 [a necrology]. By Henry Necarsulmer. [13]
 [New York] *City college alumnus.* 1934. v. 30, p. 138-139.
- Max J. Kohler [a necrology]. [14]
NYLJ. July 26, 1934, p. 248.
- Max J. Kohler dies: authority on law. [15]
NYT. July 25, 1934, p. 17.
- Tributes by Felix M. Warburg, Isaac Landman, James Marshall, Solomon Lowenstein, Ludwig Vogelstein, Alexander Marx, and Abram I. Elkus are given *ibid.*
 "Rites at Emanu-El," *ibid.*, July 27, p. 17.
- Max J. Kohler [an editorial]. [16]
New York World-Telegram. July 26, 1934, p. 18.
- [A tribute.] By Anita Libman Lebeson. [17]
RA. 1934. v. 88, Aug. 3, p. 22.
- Max J. Kohler [a necrology]. By Irving Lehman. [18]
AJYB. 1935. v. 37, p. 21-25. port.
- Memorial of Max James Kohler. (Prepared by Henry Necarsulmer) [19]
Association of the Bar of the City of New York, Year book. 1935. p. 325-329.
- Max J. Kohler [a necrology]. [20]
New York history. 1935. v. 16, p. 98-99.

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NOTES.

A REMARKABLE VERDICT RENDERED AT AMSTERDAM, JANUARY 19, 1690.

In the book, "Historical annotations concerning criminal lawsuits at Amsterdam, especially in the sixteenth century," by Jacobus Koning (Amsterdam, 1828), will be found in the appendixes (p. xv, letter U): A sentence of guilty found against a person who acted upon his behalf that in the Netherlands the defraudation of Jews was permissible. P. 167, *sub* U, we read:

Christoffel Herricksz., of Königsberg, corporal, was banished for three years, January 19, 1690, because he had sold gold and silver to two Jews with which he had cast some pewter. The defendant sought to excuse his action by alleging that he had believed that in this country, as in his own [Germany], the defraudation of Jews was permissible.

Koning derived the foregoing precedent from "The book of justice" (January, 1689—*ultimo* January, 1692; judicial archives No. 596, fol. 97 *verso et seq.*, old municipal archives of Amsterdam), where it is found more circumstantially described, as follows:

Christoffel Herricksz., of Königsberg, aged 26 years, corporal in the regiment of Prince Charles of Brandenburg, Captain Hosman's company, garrisoned at Brussels, confessed that he had worn some old gold and silver facings on his waistcoat. He burned these out and cast some pewter with them. The pewter he had filed by means of a file of pewter found on his person. After the alloy had been completed he sold it to two Jews. From one Jew he received fl.28.13, and from the other fl.37.16. In these transactions he acted in the belief that in this land, as in his own, the defraudation of Jews was permissible. The court sentenced him to be banished for three years and to pay the prison and judicial costs.

D. VIEYRA.

MISCELLANEA.

In the eighteenth annual report of the Boston Public Library, 1931, p. 36, among the outstanding purchases by the library for that year is listed: "Parker, Theodore. A manuscript, without title, of a History of the Jews. Contains note in Parker's own hand, 'I wrote this MS. at Watertown in May and June 1832 after the school hours. It was written with the intention of supplying a want which I felt as a teacher. But I found no publisher willing to undertake it.' Signed and dated, Watertown, 1832".

E. D. C.

A secondary source for research into a new field of American Jewish history may be found in *De Insolvente Boedelkamer als kern voor en Antwerpsch economisch archief: Oude handelsfirmas &c Antwerpen, 16. tot 19. eeuw*, by J. Denucé, in *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, vols. iii-v, 1928-1930.

A. M. F.

* * *

In *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 22, pp. 139-146, appeared "Life of Hon. Henry M. Phillips," by J. Bunford Samuel. Throughout this article and elsewhere in our *Publications*, wherever he is mentioned, the middle initial is invariably given as M.¹ The Society is now in possession of a copy of Moses Lopez's lunar calendar, recently presented by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, which at one time belonged to Zalegman Phillips, father of Henry M. The signatures, Z. Phillips, 1825, Philadelphia, and Z. Phillips, appear respectively on the end-paper of the front cover and on top of the title-page. In this copy on the end-papers of the front and back covers appear also the signatures of Henry M. Phillips no less than thirteen times, done by him undoubtedly as an exercise in penmanship, while he was a young boy. The following forms appear—Henry M. Phillips (nine times); Henry Montmorency Phillips; עזרא מנחמורנסי [transliterated by him] Tsebi bar Gnesra; עזרא מנחמורנסי; and Tsebi Montmorency bar Ezra, Philadelphia.²

E. D. C.

* * *

The Jewish Exponent, Philadelphia, August 12, 1932, p. 8, prints the following advertisement from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for February 16, 1769, discovered by Dr. Nathan G. Goodman: "Emanuel Lyon, late from London, acquaints the Public, that he intends to teach a few Gentlemen the Hebrew Language, in its Purity, either at his Lodgings, at Mr. John Taylor's in Front Street, at the corner of Race Street, or at their respective Houses. As it is a Mother Tongue very necessary to be understood by the Studios, hopes to meet with encouragement; he will do his utmost Endeavour to merit it. Mr. Lyon will translate the Hebrew into English, or Dutch, to the general satisfaction of those gentlemen who are judges".

E. D. C.

¹ In the sketch of him, in the "Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. x, p. 2, it is given as Mayer; in Morais' "The Jews of Philadelphia," Meyer and Myer.

² A sketch of Henry M. Phillips, by Richard Vaux, was read to the American Philosophical Society in December, 1884, See *Miscellanea, American Philosophical Society*, vol. i, pp. 2-4.

The New York Historical Society has a sketch, made in 1814, of Monte Alta, the home of Asher Marx, which stood about where Grant's Tomb stands. See *The New York Times*, January 8, 1933. In the *Quarterly Bulletin* of the same society, for October, 1936, vol. xx, pp. 105-110, appears a full account, with an illustration, of 5 West Seventy-sixth Street, for many years the residence of the late Oscar S. Straus. The New York Historical Society acquired the property from Mr. Straus in 1925.

A. M. F.

* * *

In *The Sun*, New York, June 13, 1936, p. 13, appeared a paper on a rum jug of Abraham or Abram Mordecai. It was written by Peter A. Brannon, of the department of archives and history of Alabama, and was first published in the *Montgomery Advertiser* of this state. The jug is the personal property of Mr. Brannon. The following court record was sent to Mr. Coleman by Mr. Brannon, and may be compared with the Mordecai sketch in *Publications*, *supra*, No. 13, p. 71 *et seq.*

CREEK AGENCY 1804.

It is hereby certified that Abraham M. Mordacai of this Agency was beaten and had his left ear cut off by a unlawful bandetti of the Town of Coosada in this Agency.

BENJAMIN HAWKINS, Agent for I. A.
D. W. CUMBETHER.
DAVID ADAMS.

David Adams acknowledged his having subscribed to the above certificate 5th day of December 1804, before me.

B. WHITTAKER, J. of P.

Georgia Secretary's Office 5th of Dec. 1804. Examined and Recorded in Book D. 3, Fio. 237.

H. A. MARBURY, Sec'y.

Recorded July 15th, 1842. SIMON GOOLSBY, Clerk, by B. W. HAYDON, D. C.

Office of the Judge of Probate
Tallapoosa County, Alabama
Deed Book A, Page 352.

I, Josephine Chesnutt, do hereby certify
this to be a true, correct and compared

copy of page #43 of Arrow Points, Vol. 19,
No. 5&6, Feb. 10, 1933. Issued by the
Anthropological Society of Alabama,
Montgomery, Alabama.

JOSEPHINE CHESNUTT.

A. M. F.

AMERICAN JEWRY AND MAIMONIDES.

To what extent are American Jews interested in the personality of Maimonides? We are well aware of the many journalistic articles, addresses, essays and books on Maimonides published in America, but these at most indicate an interest in this great medieval thinker only on the part of the learned and intellectual Jews.³ How much of this appreciation and regard is felt by the masses of Jews in this country is quite problematical.

One indication of this interest would perhaps be the extent to which the name of Maimonides was taken by Jews in this country when they desired to name their synagogues, cemeteries, societies and charitable institutions. But here we are confronted with a difficulty. Jews in this country are not wont to name their institutions as a rule with the name of individuals. By far the greatest number of American Jewish organizations are named either with Hebrew or with English names, such as Bnai Jeshurun, Hebrew Benevolent Society and the like. The recently immigrated Jews, in the larger cities, particularly in New York, chose quite often for their organizations the names of the cities from which their members migrated. This use then of Hebrew and English names and the names of cities in Europe, hinders us in determining to what extent Maimonides' name would have been used had the Jews of this country relied entirely upon the names of individuals in naming their institutions.

Yet a number of organizations in this country, nevertheless, carry the names of local or historical Jewish personalities. Among these historical figures the name of Maimonides is used, alongside of others, but he is outranked by the use of the name of Moses

³ For a list of books, addresses, etc. printed in America prior to the recent octo-centennial celebration, see Joseph I. Gorinkle, "A Bibliography of Maimonides," New York, 1932. Mention should be made here of an early American poem, not listed by Gorinkle,—“Moses Maimonides: an unrhymed ballad” by Emma Lazarus, which appeared in *American Jews' Annual*, 5645, pp. 29-36, and which is not given in any of her collections of poems.

Montefiore by four to one. Montefiore's name is used by some thirty-four organizations, apart from lodges of fraternal orders, in various parts of the country, while the name of Maimonides is used by only eight. Maimonides listings are: a religious school in Boston; a cemetery, a benevolent society and two medical organizations in New York; a school in Newark, a medical society in Detroit, and a school in Philadelphia.⁴ Despite this small number of listings, Maimonides equals Baron de Hirsch, who has a similar number of institutions named for him, and exceeds Judah Touro, Grace Aguilar, Theodore Herzl, Nathan Straus and Baruch Spinoza, the last having only one listing, a cemetery in Lexington, Kentucky. This would indicate that while Maimonides is not as well known as the philanthropist Montefiore, he is certainly better known than Judah Touro, Grace Aguilar or Spinoza. We must also point out here that the name of Maimonides does not lend itself as readily for use in naming charitable societies as the name of Montefiore does. This might account in some way for the little use made of his name, but it does not explain it entirely as Jews have used both Montefiore's and Maimonides' name without reference to their particular historical importance.

Perhaps in the 'fifties and the 'sixties of the last century, the name of Maimonides meant more in American Jewry than it does today. In those days Maimonides' name was the leading name of a personality used in connection with the naming of organizations. When one takes into consideration the small number of Jewish institutions in this country at that time, the use of the name of Maimonides by a few made his name more meaningful than it does today with thousands of Jewish organizations and only a handful of them named for Maimonides. True, with the rise of the popularity of Montefiore in the 'seventies and the 'eighties and with the tendency to use English names and *landsleute* designations, the name of Maimonides receded in the background. Yet one feels that a lack of knowledge of Maimonides on the part of the masses was a greater factor in the neglect of his name than any other.

Two important institutions adopted the name of Maimonides at the time that his name was more available for such purposes. Had these two institutions continued to exist today they would have perpetuated the name of Maimonides far above that of any other historical individual and would have popularized the name of Maimonides among the masses in this country. One of these institutions

⁴ Some of these do not exist today. They have been recorded here merely to indicate the type of institution that chose the name of Maimonides and to give the total instances in which the name was used in recent times.

was Maimonides College, a higher school of Jewish learning, founded in 1867 by the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia. In 1873 this institution closed its doors due to a lack of funds.⁵ The other organization was the Maimonides Library, founded in New York by the Independent Order B'nai B'rith. It was established as early as 1850 and continued for many years as a private library becoming in 1895 a semi-public institution under the name of the Maimonides Free Library. With the rise of the New York Public Library, the Maimonides Library ceased to exist.⁶

HYMAN B. GRINSTEIN.

SARAH ABONDANA.

The name *Abendonon*, that of Joseph who settled in Philadelphia and joined in 1740 the group which formed the nucleus of the Mikve Israel Congregation, and that of Mordecai who died in New York Nissan 21, 1690 and whose remains were transferred in 1856 from the New Bowery to the Twenty-first Street Cemetery, is recorded in *Publications, supra*, No. 1, p. 24 and No. 18, p. 120.

In the *New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin*, v. xx, no. 4 (Oct. 1936), p. 113-121, is given a calendar of the bills of lading of Jacobus Van Cortlandt's shipments from the port of New York, 1699-1702. Among the frequent consignees one meets with the name of Mrs. Sarah Abondana. The following is an excerpt of the entries concerning her:

October 12, 1699. Sloop *Mary*, Capt. John Clatworthy, bound for Curaçao. 2 firkins of butter, for the account of Mrs. Sarah Abondana, and consigned to her. Freight: 12 1/2 royals.

May 23, 1700. Brigantine *Phillip*. Capt. Thomas Gleave, bound for Curaçao. 4 half-barrels of meal, 4 half-barrels of flour and 4 firkins of butter, consigned to Sarah Abondana, and shipped for her account. Freight: 15 pieces of eight.

June 25, 1700. Sloop *Hope*, Capt. Joseph Smith, bound for Curaçao. 4 half-barrels of flour and 6 firkins of butter, consigned to Mrs. Sarah Abondana and shipped for her account. Freight: 10 1/2 pieces of eight.

December 20, 1700. Sloop *Frederick*, Capt. Joseph Smith, bound for Curaçao. 5 half-barrels of flour and 4 half-barrels of meal, consigned to Mrs. Sarah Abondana, and shipped for her account. Freight: 11 pieces of eight and 2 royals.

⁵ *American Jewish Year Book*, 5675, p. 104. Leaser was the first provost of this institution and upon his death Jastrow assumed its direction.

⁶ Isaac Markens, "The Hebrews in America," p. 319; Reports, Maimonides (Free) Library, 1886-1903. Most of the books of Jewish interest of this library are now in the possession of the American Jewish Historical Society.

May 26, 1701. Brigantine *Happy Return*, Capt. Peter Wessels, bound for Curaçao. 5 firkins of butter, consigned to Sarah Abondana, and shipped for her account. Freight rate: 4 royals per firkin.

June 21, 1701. Brigantine *Philip*, Capt. Thomas Gleave, bound for Curaçao. 6 half-barrels of bread and 10 firkins of butter, for account of Mrs. Sarah Abondana, and consigned to her. Freight: 16 pieces of eight, 5 royals, and 3 stuivers.

July 30, 1701. Brigantine *Frederick*, Capt. Joseph Smith, bound for Curaçao. 1 firkin of butter, consigned to Mrs. Sarah Abondana, and shipped for her account. Freight: 4 royals.

October 16, 1701. Sloop *Three Brothers*, Capt. Otter Van Tuyl, bound for Curaçao. 2 half-barrels cornell and 4 firkins of butter, consigned to Mrs. Sarah Abondana, and shipped for her account. Freight: 6 pieces of eight.

October 30, 1701. Brigantine *Philip*, Capt. Thomas Gleave, bound for Curaçao. 2 barrels of bread, 1 firkin of butter, and 1 small bag of garden seeds for account and risk of Mrs. Sarah Abondana, and consigned to her. Freight: 6 pieces of eight and 6 royals.

June 20, 1702. Ship *Cathrine*, Capt. Mathyas D'hart, bound for Curaçao. 8 firkins of butter, for the account of Mrs. Sarah Abondana, and consigned to her. Freight: 3 1/2 pieces of eight.

E. D. C.

BENJAMIN LEVY.

Among the many valuable documents which came to us in the Rosenbach gift⁷ to the Society in 1931 is the following interesting letter. The addressee is the notable Robert Morris, signer of the Declaration of Independence for Pennsylvania.

MY DEAR MORRIS

It is said that if the Congress are obliged to leave Philadelphia, they [you] intend coming to this town. We have two very good rooms on our first floor upstairs, which we propose for you and Mrs. Morris. We have one spare bed. Our house is good and large. And think if you can be supply'd with bedding from Mr. Aquilla Hall who is but about 25 miles from hence, we could accommodate all your children and three or four servants. Having other apartments that will do exceeding well. But surely pray that you may not be under the necessity of leaving your home, and that we shall soon hear of the Enemy Retiring. As these are not times for compliment and ceremony, I need not give you assurances of making you welcome, as I ever profess'd myself

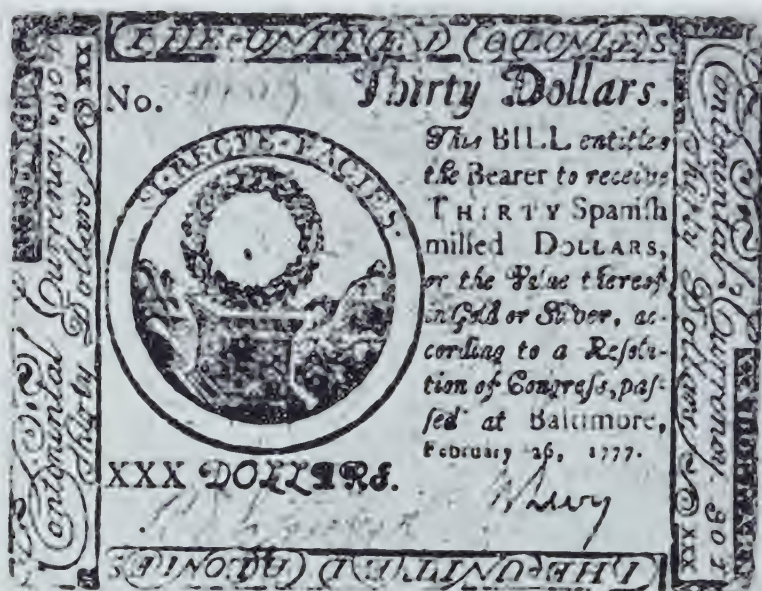
Your truly affectionate humble [?]

BENJAMIN LEVY

Rachel joins me in compliments to Mrs. Morris.

Baltimore Friday 13 Decb. 1776.

⁷ A general description of this gift is contained in the Curator's report, in *Publications, supra*, No. 33, pp. xxvii-xxviii; a more detailed one can be read in *The Jewish exponent*, Philadelphia, June 26, 1931.



CONTINENTAL BILL OF CREDIT, SIGNED BY BENJAMIN LEVY, 1777
RECTO AND VERSO.

The signer of this letter is the Benjamin Levy who in 1765-1767 resided in Philadelphia. The intimacy with which it is written shows that he and Morris were more than mere business friends. The Rachel mentioned in the postscript is his wife, daughter of Nathan Levy and sister to Philadelphia Levy. Levy had been one of the signers of the non-importation agreement of the Philadelphia merchants (October 25, 1765). The Continental Congress, on March 9, 1776, appointed him as an authorized signer of bills of credit.⁸ This authorization seems to have been renewed on February 26, 1777, as evidenced from a bill of credit, which has lately been presented to us by Mr. A. W. Oppenheim, New York City. It is herewith reproduced.

E. D. C.

JEWISH AMERICANA.

The American Clipper, issued by the American Autograph Shop, Merion Station, Pa., advertised for sale the following items of interest:

In the issue of May 1935: No. 94. Poem in the hand of Capt. Schomberg,⁹ who had participated in Admiral Rodney's American Warfare and had liked America, and now wishes to return there as an American Commissioner or Captain of an Indian Fort, etc. Garrick¹⁰ evidently spoke about his friend's desires to Gov. Charles Townshead and now submits this poem again on behalf of Capt. Schomberg. On first page, filling about 1/3 of the space in the hand of Garrick "To the Right Hon. Charles Townshead, reminding him of his promise to serve Capt. Schomberg." 4to, two pages. The poem consists of 8 stanzas of four lines each and deals in an interesting way with the American Indians. We print a sample . . . and the whole poem likely by Garrick.

Make him the tyrant of a fort,
He'll ask no more of you or faith
Surrounded by his scalping court,
What monarch would be half so great?

Send him where aft he fought and bled,
Again to cross th' Atlantic sea.
To Tomahawk and Wampum bred
He's more than half a Cherokee.

Ibid., No. 118. Noah, M. M.¹¹ A. L. S. 4to, N. Y., 1824. This is nothing less than his original inquiry about the survey of the land of Grand Island and the price of the whole tract . . . Attached to this letter is his original advertisement of his "Restoration of the Jews." Unique.

⁸ *Publications, supra*, No. 1, pp. 21, 60.

⁹ Capt. (later Sir) Alexander Schomberg, 1716-1804, son of Meyer Löw Schomberg, English physician.

¹⁰ David Garrick, eminent English actor and dramatist, 1717-1779.

¹¹ See *Publications, supra*, No. 8, pp. 84-118; No. 21, pp. 229-252.

Ibid., No. 116. Judah,¹² Moses, a noted merchant of New York. A. L. S. 4to, 2 pages, N. Y., Dec. 1802. Addressed to Peter Ayrolt, Charleston, S. C., giving him instructions how to proceed in order to collect a certain note, of which a certified copy is attached.

Ibid., No. 115. Philadelphia. Two MS. documents, being the drafts, with maps, etc. of the several lots, to be walled in and used by the Jews as burying ground in Philadelphia.¹³ Dated Oct. 1 and 8, 1765. Folio and 4to. The maps and documents in the hand of J. Lukens, Surveyor Genl.

Ibid., No. 117. Lopez, Moses. Naturalization papers in the Island of Jamaica. Oblong folio, 1725. Signed by Henry, Duke of Portland, Governor of the Island in the name of King George. A true Copy. The same came to New York later on and became an American citizen.

In the issue of July 1935. Stuyvesant, Peter. MS. signed, being two pages of minutes of the Provincial Council for their sessions of January 10 and 18, 1656. There is recorded for the first time in the history of Manhattan Island the presence of a Jew. Interesting entries referring to the Dutch Colony on the South (Delaware) River, etc. Folio, two closely written pages . . . Mr. Victor H. Paltsits . . . was good enough to examine this MS. and wrote: "The document of two pages, written in Dutch, is a leaf of minutes of the Provincial Council of New Netherland, probably written by the Provincial Secretary, Cornelis van Ruyven, and is signed by Petrus Stuyvesant, Director General. The first page has two minute-entries, of January 10, 1656, relative to a smuggling case of one Jacob Cohen,¹⁴ a Jew of New Amsterdam. Cohen was accused by the Provincial Fiscal or prosecuting officer of smuggling two hogsheads of tobacco, without having paid duties. The complaint was made by the Fiscal on Dec. 23, 1655, and the records show that the tobacco had been seized by him on Dec. 14. On Dec. 23 the Fiscal asked that the tobacco be confiscated, and Stuyvesant and his council issued an order, thereupon, that the said seized tobacco be sold, the defendant Cohen to give security for such judgment as might be awarded. On January 18, 1656, there were further proceedings in the council, and a compromise was allowed in the case. Fiscal Cornelis van Tienhoven was ordered to apply the larger part of profit from the sale for the benefit of the Directors of the Dutch West India Company of Amsterdam, Holland. The minute-record of January 10 falls just before the compromise was voted. Two years later we find Jacob Cohen involved in another case of record, which ended in his receiving a permit to rectify certain liquors in his possession. The other page of the minutes is dated Thursday, January 18, 1656, and relates to Jean Jacquet . . ."

In the issue of October 1935: No. 84. Hebrew Grammar. Ms. 12mo. 57 closely written pages in English and Hebrew characters. A complete MS. in an unidentified hand but most likely by a professor of Harvard of the early 18th century. We believe this to be the hand of Prof. John Winthrop, Franklin's friend and advisers in matters scientific. Perhaps the first attempt at a Hebrew grammar on American soil. In excellent state of preservation. Stitched.

¹² See *Index to Publications*, s. v., Judah, Moses.

¹³ See *Publications*, *supra*, No. 1, pp. 20-21.

¹⁴ See *Index to Publications*, s. v. Henriques, Jacob Cohen.

In the issue of February 1936: No. 135. "The Corinth Caucasian." A curious "Reconstruction Paper" trying to unite the "Caucasian Races" of the South. Folio, 4 pages, Vol. 1, No. 1 (perhaps all published) Corinth, Miss., July 9, 1868. (Thomas J. Key, Editor.) The last page is given over to the expulsion of Jews, order issued by Genl. Grant at Holley Springs and Pontotoc of Miss. It seems that Jews, male, female, children were expelled as such from the parts where Genl. Grant held jurisdiction and had to leave at once, for no other reason, but because they were Jews. Also Rep. Powell of Kentucky's speech referring to a similar incident in Ky. We were unable to find other references to this incident anywhere.¹⁵

E. D. C.

BRIDGETOWN, BARBADOS.

The history of the Jews in Barbados can be traced in our *Publications*.¹⁶ Wilfred S. Samuel, a corresponding member, combining the information scattered in the *Publications* with additional data which came to his knowledge, prepared what may be considered a complete story of the origin of the Jewish settlement in that island and read it as a paper which he called "A review of the Jewish colonists in Barbados in the year 1680" before the Jewish Historical Society of England on May 19, 1924.¹⁷

The old synagogue of the Congregation Nidhé Israel (Scattered of Israel) at Bridgetown, Barbados, had been destroyed in the hurricane of 1831.¹⁸ The dwindling congregation, numbering only about thirty

¹⁵ Cf. *Publications*, *supra*, No. 17, pp. 71-79.

¹⁶ *Publications*, *supra*, No. 1, pp. 105-108; No. 2, pp. 95-97; No. 5, pp. 57-61, 90-99; No. 12, pp. 40-42; No. 18, pp. 129-148; No. 22, pp. 178-180; No. 23, pp. 25-29; No. 29, pp. 9-14; and No. 32, pp. 114-116.

¹⁷ *Jewish Historical Society of England, Transactions*, 1936, vol. xiii (1932-35), pp. 1-111, with maps and facsimils.

¹⁸ The Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary owns a broadsheet on which are reprinted accounts of the "Consecration of the Synagogue" [it is so captioned] in March 1832, as reported in the Barbados Globe of April 1st, and the Barbados Mercury of April 2nd. At the bottom, right-hand corner, some one wrote: "On 19th March 1832, the corner stone was laid. The manuscript deposited read 'The Holy Synagogue having been destroyed by the tremendous hurricane with which it pleased Almighty God to afflict this Island in 2 Elul A. M. 5591 [Aug. 11, 1831] the present building was commenced on the 20th March A. M. 5592, and this deposited in the corner stone by Mr. Hart Lyon, president of the Kaal Kadesh Nidhi Israel'." In the left corner are listed by the same hand the following names: Hart Lyon, parnass; Moses Cohen D'Azevedo, Myer Abrahams, Abraham Fonzi, Samuel Elias Daniels, David Moses Cardozo Baeza, Daniel Moses Lobo. Our Library possesses in the Lyons Collection, pamphlet-volume 2, No. 16: Form of Prayer & Service to be used in the Synagogue at Barbadoes, on the day of the anniversary of the Great Calamity, 2nd Elul, 5591.

contributing members in 1833, rebuilt it that year. By 1869 the contributing members numbered only eight, and in 1905 the total Jewish population was only seventeen souls. In 1908 the two surviving active members reaffirmed an earlier (1869 and 1887) resolution of entrusting the congregation and its property to the Bevis Marks Synagogue of London. Mr. Samuel concludes his paper thus:

In the year 1924 Messrs. Joshua and Edmund I. Baeza attain the respective ages of eighty-one and sixty-nine years. Thus the Barbados Congregation still survives as by a miracle, having 'lingered' for close on ninety years [since the hurricane date of 1831]. What finer or more pathetic symbol can be found to-day of the faithfulness and wondrous tenacity of the Jew? For over 250 years the Nidhé Israel have subsisted. Will it be given them to keep their centenary? Who knows?

The preceding prefatory remarks are in pertinent introduction to extracts given below from two letters received by the Society, to which we respectfully call the sympathetic attention of our members.

THE BARBADOS MUSEUM AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. ANN'S GARRISON
BARBADOS, BRITISH WEST INDIES

June 29, 1936

The Corresponding Secretary
American Jewish Historical Society
New York City.

DEAR SIR: I am present engaged in copying all the monumental inscriptions in the graveyard of the old Jewish Synagogue in Bridgetown, and in gathering materials for a history of the Synagogue itself to be published later in the Barbados Historical Society's Quarterly Journal.

I have at my disposal the records of births, marriages and burials which are preserved in the Barbados Record Office, and such other records of the former Jewish Congregation as may be found among the Minutes of Council and Assembly and the Wills, Deeds, etc., in Barbados . . . You may be interested to know that the Synagogue and graveyard are in private hands, and I am doing my best to preserve everything of interest concerning the former Jewish Congregation, as the time may come when all traces may be obliterated. There are several hundred tombs in the graveyard which ought to be carefully preserved. I am not only copying the inscriptions but I hope to publish notes about those who are buried there. If any of the members of your Society are interested and would help me with biographical details I would be very pleased. The compilation will appear in instalments, and the amount of information which is published will depend on the response to an appeal for contributions towards the cost

By David Meldola, presiding rabbi (of the Spanish and Portuguese Nation.) London: J. Wertheimer [5592-1832]. 4 l. 8°. The upper half of the t.p. is in Hebrew. The first leaf, verso, contains an address of condolence "To the Wardens and Ruler of the Holy Congregation . . . Barbadoes."

of the work. My services are given free, but plates for illustrating the text must be provided for, and our Society is not in a position to furnish these. I have a number of valuable photos of the exterior and interior of the Synagogue which ought to be published, as the building has since been stripped of all its former furnishings and is being turned into an office. I have been able to secure for our Museum the basin and font from the courtyard, the marble which was over the entrance gate which recorded the rebuilding of the Synagogue after the 1831 hurricane had destroyed the former building, the clock (a fine piece by Thwaites and Reed 125 years old), one of the small pews, the old copper alms-box, and one or two other pieces. I hope to persuade the present owner of the building to give me the window of coloured glass he said he did not want. I am assuming that you are aware that the Warden and Officers of the Spanish and Portuguese Community of Bevis Marks, London, sold the Synagogue and graveyard in 1928 to Mr. H. G. Yearwood, who has since died, and the building and site have changed hands again. It is shorn of all its glory, but it still holds for me its historical interest . . .

There is not a single member of the Hebrew Congregation left in Barbados to whom I could appeal for co-operation and assistance. A Canadian gentleman of Jewish birth visited this Island a few months ago and gave me \$10.00 to get it cleaned up, which I did with the permission of the owner. Since the recent heavy rains it is again covered with weeds and undergrowth, which I have to clear away as I go from stone to stone copying the inscriptions, and if you can help me with any literature on the subject I will proceed to write my article on the Hebrew Community with a view to publishing it in our Journal. Most of the inscriptions are in Hebrew, Portuguese and English. I cannot read Hebrew, so I am giving the Portuguese and English versions of each inscription. I should be glad to have some help with the former language, and if there is any one in your Society who would be prepared to read by Ms. with a view to correcting possible errors in Portuguese I should be very pleased to submit it.

E. M. SHILSTONE, Honorary Secretary.

Writing again, under date of August 10, 1936, after our Library had forwarded certain of our *Publications* and other volumes containing Barbados information, Mr. Shilstone states:

I know Dr. Oliver's work¹⁹ . . . but there are at least 200 inscriptions which he [Dr. Oliver] did not copy, and I am trying to publish all of the inscriptions, with biographical and historical details . . . Without your help I would have to confine my work to the local records, and publish an incomplete account of the Jews in Barbados. It will not be possible for me to copy the Hebrew inscriptions, for I can not read them. Since Dr. Oliver worked on the tombstones, they have been lowered from their original bases, and I found them almost entirely covered by soil and undergrowth. I have had to clear up the ground and uncover the stones that were buried. Many of them are barely decipherable, and I have had the greatest difficulty in reading them.

¹⁹ Vere L. Oliver, "The monumental inscriptions in the churches and churchyards of the island of Barbados," London, 1915. See *ibid.*, p. 197-207.

The tombstones lie flat on the ground, and while a few of them might be photographed with some results, most of them would just appear as flat slabs of stone. I am told that the person to whom the Synagogue and graveyard were sold by the Congregation of Bevis Marks, London, removed all the masonry of the tombs and laid flat the stones in the hope that time and weather would obliterate them. It seems a great pity that the graveyard at least was not vested in trustees for the perpetual preservation of the tombs. The Government of Barbados ought to have concerned itself in the matter, but I assume that it was argued that if the Jewish Congregation (Not in Barbados for there are none left) sold the graveyard there was no reason why the Government should worry itself about it. The property has since changed hands, and I have reason to believe that the present owner would be willing to divest himself of the graveyard if not the building as well. He does not take any interest in the historical associations of the place, and does not think it necessary to keep the grounds in order. I spent several weeks clearing the ground before I could copy a single inscription. The rains have since come in, and I shall have to clear up the portion containing tombstones which have not yet been copied.

With regard to publication of my work: it could be done in instalments in the Journal of our Society, but unless contributions were made to the cost it would be impossible to publish illustrations which would add much to the value of the work . . . If money were no object, I would have the stones raised and photographed and reproduce them in that way. At present the work is done by me on my hands and knees, as I scrub the stones and copy them . . . we both have the same object in view—the preservation of the records of the Jews in Barbados.

Mr. Samuel's rhetorical question, which we quoted above, is now answered, sadly but definitively. Our Society is ready to transmit to Barbados any form of help which any member of our Society may be moved to extend.

E. D. C.

WILLIAM DUNLAP'S JEWISH FRIENDS.

In *Plays of Jewish interest on the American stage, 1752-1821*,²⁰ we had occasion to mention William Dunlap both as author and critic of such plays. We cited his *Diary*.²¹ In this *Diary* he mentions numerous times Jews as his professional and social friends. The conclusion is inescapable that the Jews so mentioned were of a sort who cultivated the arts and naturally sought the friendship of a man such as Dunlap was in his generation.

²⁰ *Publications, supra*, No. 33, pp. 172, 174, 183n, 186-190.

²¹ "Diary of William Dunlap (1766-1839); the memoirs of a dramatist, theatrical manager, painter, critic, novelist, and historian." New York, 1930. 3 vols. (Collections of the New York Historical Society, vols. 62-64.)

Mordecai M. Noah figures often during the years 1833 and 1834.²² The references and the correspondence exchanged between them to which he alludes relate to Noah as a journalist and theatrical manager.

Sampson Levy of Philadelphia is recorded in the *Diary* during the period March 21, 1811–October 20, 1819. With him Dunlap seems to have been on the most intimate terms, the entry often reading "dined at his house." A Mrs. Levy of New York—further identification is not made—is the subject of several entries in 1797, 1806 and 1811. Dunlap called on her and her friend Miss Morton.²³

In 1796, five years after his father's death, Dunlap entered into a partnership with Moses Judah in a china and hardware store. Many entries, dated Perth Amboy, N. J., and New York, are recorded in 1796–1798, during which years the partnership lasted. Judah also occasionally attended to Dunlap's theatrical ventures. We learn that in 1798 Moses Judah, against his father's wish, but with the advice of his silent partner, married a Miss Peck, sister of William Peck, a merchant tailor.

February 1820 finds Dunlap in Norfolk, Va. There he met Samuel and John Myers, brothers. "The elder Myers [Moses Myers²⁴] has been one of the first merchants here, but failed last summer." Notice this further comment: "they are Jews, well informed, genteel, & uncommonly handsome in the younger part of the family." Dunlap states, p. 519, that Samuel Myers shot one Bowder for striking his (Myers') father.

A bit of British Jewish genealogical information is given on p. 714. It concerns the Goldsmids.²⁵ Dunlap describes a Miss Ellis as a very beautiful English actress who played in New York and Canada about 1810 or 1811, and adds: "[Albert] Goldsmid²⁶ a son of the banker [Benjamin] then in the Army & at Quebec saw her in *Morgiana*, being enamour'd of her married her & carried her home where she has proved worthy of the fortune she shares with him."

²² In 1833 was produced Dunlap's *Thirty years ago*, as a benefit for him—the revised play which, as originally produced on Dec. 20, 1803, at the Park Theatre, New York, under the title *Bonaparte in England*, contained a prominent Jewish character, *Shadrach-Meshac*. See *Publications*, *ibid.*, p. 190. Noah aided Dunlap to make the 1833 production a financial success. See also G. A. Kohut, "A literary autobiography of Mordecai Manuel Noah," in *Publications*, *supra*, No. 6, pp. 113–121.

²³ Miss Morton was Eliza Susannah Morton who in 1797 married Josiah Quincy, mayor of Boston and president of Harvard University, 1829–1845.

²⁴ See Leon Huhner in *Publications*, *supra*, No. 20, pp. 103–104.

²⁵ See James Picciotto, "Sketches of Anglo-Jewish history," pp. 250–254.

²⁶ As to Albert Goldsmid see "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. vi.

Finally we learn of one Castello or Castillo about whom Dunlap says "he was born & educated a jew." This Castello is unknown to our *Publications*.²⁷ He is probably David Castello listed in Longworth's New York City Register and Directory for 1832/33 as a "merchant, 90 wall, h. 122 Bleecker St." In the 1842/43 Directory he is listed as a broker (stock), 49 William, h. 6th Ave., near Barrow. Judging from his transaction with Dunlap, he probably hailed from Central or South America or had business or family connections there. He met Dunlap in 1832 and commissioned him to paint a portrait of the Colombian patriot and president Francisco Paula de Santander, 1792-1840. No further references to him appear after April 6, 1833. Under date of Sept. 30, 1832, Dunlap writes: "Painted . . . head of of boy in my *Holy Family* [on the design suggested by Michelangelo], Castillo's [son] Edmund the model."

E. D. C.

AMERICAN AND BRITISH INTERVENTION ON BEHALF OF KISHINEV JEWS IN 1903.

In the late fall of 1903 rumors reached this country and England, by way of Vienna, of outbreaks to be renewed against the Jews of Kishinev during the Christmas season. The first pogrom of April 1903 had greatly stirred American and English public opinion, both Jewish and Christian.²⁸ The connivance of the Russian government with the ringleaders of the municipality during the Passover massacres and its attitude after the event in many ways, particularly in its refusal to accept from Secretary Hay a petition, sponsored by the B'nai B'rith, and signed by many thousands of Americans, protesting against the atrocities and urging the prevention of future such outrages, clothed these rumors with genuine trepidation on the part of Jewry throughout the world, and especially the Jews of New York. Through the courtesy of Saul M. Ginsburg,²⁹ formerly of St.

²⁷ Elias N., Moses, and Moses N. Castillo are mentioned in No. 27, but none of them is likely to be the one Dunlap speaks about.

²⁸ See Cyrus Adler, ed., "The voice of America on Kishineff," Philadelphia, 1904.

²⁹ S. M. Ginsburg is a noted historian of Russian Jewry. He was the editor-in-chief of *The Friend* of St. Petersburg, 1903-1908, the first Yiddish daily in Russia, the secretary for many years of the Russian *Chevrah M'ftzei haskalah*, contributor to the *Voskhod*, and author of many volumes in his chosen field. A three-volume edition of his collected historical writings will soon appear in this country. The documents here given were secured from him by Isaac Rivkind.

Petersburg, now at Lincoln, Neb., we are able to reproduce several documents copied by him at the Russian Archives, bearing upon the actions resulting from these rumors.

The telegram from the New York World³⁰ was addressed directly to the Czar. In it the word "Jews" is not mentioned—only "Your Majesty's former subjects now living in the United States." Dated December 16, 1903, it was transmitted on Dec. 18th by Count Lamsdorff, minister of foreign affairs, to the notorious von Plehve, minister of the interior and chief of the secret police. Lamsdorff's letter of transmittal, in Russian, refers to the telegram as concerning "the so-called" anti-Jewish disorders.

At about the same time a committee representing the London Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association called upon the British Foreign Office.³¹ In the absence of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Marquess of Landsdowne, the committee was heard by Sir T. H. Sanderson, the Permanent Under-Secretary. The French letter, herewith reproduced, signed by Sir Charles S. Scott, British Ambassador to Russia, addressed to Count Lamsdorff, as "*personelle et très confidentiel*," was the result of this audience. It is dated December 24, 1903, and was transmitted the same day to von Plehve, with the reference to the "so-called" Jewish disorders repeated. Two days later von Plehve replied to Lamsdorff (no. 1178). The answer is typical of him. He denies the rumors of further outbreaks to guard against. Insofar as such rumors exist, they are spread by Jews themselves, some of whom—he says—are actuated by groundless fears and others a by a desire to evoke the sympathies of western European public opinion. He continues:

Although the impudent behavior of the Jews in the Pale of Settlement and particularly in Kishinev, during the immediate past, greatly strengthens the hostile attitude of the Christian population towards them, we have no knowledge as yet of any possible future violence against them. If any disorderly manifestations break out, they will be suppressed in due time.

In the light of what we now know as to the Czaristic ideology and tactics in permitting pogroms, we are fairly safe in assuming that the two petitions, here brought to light for the first time, aided greatly or were wholly instrumental in preventing in December 1903 a repetition in that hapless city of the brutal days of the preceding April.

E. D. C.

³⁰ An examination of the files of *The World* (New York) for December 1903 failed to disclose any mention of this telegram. Nor is there any reference to it in the American Jewish press. It was evidently hoped that its efficacy would be better achieved by keeping it secret.

³¹ See *Jewish year book*, 5665, London, 1904, pp. 458-459.

ДЕПАРТАМЕНТЪ ПОЛИЦИИ.

3-е Дѣлопроизводство
д. 1903 г. № 2737.

Министерство
Иностр. Дѣлъ.
Второй Департаментъ
18 Декабря 1903 г.
№ 14022
В. К. Плеве.

Довѣрительно.
Весьма спѣшно.

Милостивый Государь
Вячеславъ Константиновичъ,

Имѣю честь препроводить при семъ Вашему
1 Приложение. Высокопревосходительству копію телеграммы,
полученной на ВЫСОЧАЙШЕЕ ИМЯ ЕГО
ИМПЕРАТОРСКАГО ВЕЛИЧЕСТВА отъ извѣстной Нью-Йорк-
ской газеты "World" и переданной мнѣ ГОСУДАРЕМЪ ИМ-
ПЕРАТОРОМЪ, по поводу вновь ожидаемыхъ, будто-бы,
противоеврейскихъ безпорядковъ въ Кишиневѣ.

Примите, М. Г., увѣреніе . . . и пр.

ЛАМЗДОРФЪ.

Копія телеграммы на имя ЕГО ИМПЕРАТОРСКАГО ВЕЛИЧЕ-
СТВА изъ Нью Йорка отъ 16/29 Декабря 1903 года.

His Imperial Majesty Nicholas the Second

Moved by knowledge and high appreciation of Your Majesty's humane impulses which have taken such noble and promising form in the international peace tribunal at the Hague, the New York *World* most respectfully but confidently appeals to Your Majesty in the name of humanity. Many thousands of Your Majesty's former subjects now living in the United States are filled with consternation by reports coming from various sources in Kishineff that their friends and kinsmen there are in danger of violence from evil disposed persons on the approaching Christmas day. This fear, even if groundless, is very real. The *World* therefore begs Your Majesty to allay these apprehensions with an assurance that the ample powers at Your Majesty's command will be employed to prevent such calamity. Publicity given to such an assurance would, we earnestly believe,

remove great dread from thousand of hearts and tend to strengthen the ties of friendship and good will which have for more than a century existed between Russia and the United States.

The World, New York.

Вѣрно: Дѣлопроизводитель Бар. ТАУБЕ.

М-во Иностр. Дѣлъ
24 Декабря 1903 г.
№ 209.
В. К. Плеве.

Довѣрительно.
Весьма нужное.

Милостивый Государь
Вячеславъ Константиновичъ,

Поспѣшаю препроводить Вашему Высокопревосходительству только что полученное мною отъ Великобританскаго Посла совершенно частное письмо, содержащее указаніе на распространившіеся за границей слухи объ ожидаемыхъ, будто-бы, въ Кишиневѣ на предстоящихъ праздникахъ, противоеврейскихъ беспорядкахъ.

1 Приложеніе.

Примите, М. Г., увѣреніе . . . и пр.
ЛАМЗДОРФЪ.

Personelle et très confidentiel

British Embassd.
St. Petersburg
le 24 Décembre 1904 (3)

MON CHER COMTE:

Lord Lansdowne vient de me faire part d'une prière très-urgente qu'il vient de recevoir de deux associations Israelites très influentes à Londres.

"The Committee of the London Jewish Association and Deputies of the British Jewish [sic] et Anglo Jewish Associations." Ces messieurs paraissent avoir reçu des nouvelles très alarmantes de leurs parents et correligionnaires à Kischeneff, qui font craindre une nouvelle émeute antisemitique pour demain à Kischineff, et prient Lord Lansdowne de vouloir bien faire des démarches pour les rassurer au sujet des précautions que les autorités ont sans doute prises pour prévenir une telle calamité.

Lord Lansdowne dit qu'il va sans dire que je ne peux faire aucune représentation officielle au Gouvernement Imperial à ce sujet, mais qu'il serait très heureux, s'il peut être mis à même par une voie non-officielle d'assurer les Associations, que les mesures nécessaires de précaution ont été prises.

Je ne sais comment satisfaire du desir de Lansdowne à moins que Votre Excellence ne veuille bien consentir à m'autoriser de le faire par une réponse particulière et non officielle, Je vous prie. En attendant de vouloir bien agréer l'expression de ma haute considération et mon entier dévouement.

CHARLES SCOTT

à Son Excellence

LE COMTE LAMSDORFF

26 Декабря 1903 г.

№ 1178.

М. Г.

Графъ Владиміръ Николаевичъ

Ламздорфу.

Вслѣдствіе письма от 24 Декабря за № 209 считаю долгомъ увѣдомить Ваше Сіятельство, что по имѣющимся у меня свѣдѣніямъ слухи о возможности возникновенія въ г. Кишиневѣ направленныхъ противъ евреевъ безпорядковъ не имѣютъ достаточнаго основанія и распространяются самими евреями, одними — вслѣдствіе страха, другими въ цѣляхъ возбудить симпатіи западно-европейскаго общественнаго мнѣнія и печати.

Хотя вызывающій образъ дѣйствию, проявленный евреями за послѣднее время въ чертѣ ихъ ослѣдлости и въ частности въ Кишиневѣ и усугубляетъ враждебное къ нимъ отношеніе христіанскаго населенія, но указаній на возможность возникновенія какихъ-либо массовыхъ насилій противъ евреевъ не имѣется, а если-бы такія указанія появились, безпорядки будутъ своевременно предотвращены.

Прошу, Ваше Сіятельство, принять увѣреніе . . . и пр.

ПЛЕВЕ.

JEWISH MERCHANTS AND COLONIAL SLAVE TRADE.

A considerable amount of information concerning the share of Jewish merchants in American colonial slave trade is recorded in Elizabeth Donnan's "Documents illustrative of the history of the slave trade to America."³²

vol. 1. Quoting *Harley's* (Sir Robert Harley was keeper of the seals of Barbados in 1663) *Papers, Welbeck Abbey MSS*:

the Duch loosing Brasille many Duch and Jews, repairing to Barbados began the planting and making of sugar. p. 125n.

vol. 2. In a letter, dated Jamaica, September 6, 1736, John Meriwether writes:

at our last quarter Sessions I was surpris'd to see a Jew, one of the top Supra Cargoes in the Illicit Trade for Negroes and dry goods making Application to be reliev'd in his taxes by reason of his poverty, and he had an allowance. p. 460.

vol. 4. Transcribing the Diary of the Earl of Egmont for 1741, under date of February 6, 1740/41:

That every one of the Jews were gone [from Savannah, Georgia]³³ and that Industrious Man Abraham De Lyon, on whom were all our expectations for cultivating vines and making wine. He said the reason was the want of Negroes . . . whereas his white servants cost him more than he was able to afford . . . p. 600.

vol. 3. Numerous references to, and extracts from, the mercantile accounts and letters concerning the slave trading of the Newport merchants Aaron Lopez, Abraham Lopez, Jacob Rodriguez Rivera, and Samuel Moses, and Abraham Pereira Mendes of Kingston, Jamaica, and New York, are here recorded. A petition from a group of Philadelphia merchants against a bill for duty on Negroes, 1761, is reproduced. Among the signers are David Franks, Benjamin Levy and Joseph Marks. pp. 453-454.

E. D. C.

A NEW YORK ELECTION CIRCULAR IN HEBREW OF 1867.

In November 1867, after having served as judge of the Court of Common Pleas, New York City, during 1863-1867, Albert Jacob Cardozo, *b.* Philadelphia, 1828, *d.* New York, November 8, 1885, father of the present Mr. Justice Benjamin Nathan Cardozo of the Supreme Court of the United States, was elected for an eight-year

³² Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1930-35. 4 v.

³³ See Leon Huhner in *Publications, supra*, No. 10, pp. 84-86.

term (January 1868–December 1875) to the Supreme Court of New York, first judicial district.³⁴ In the same year Jacob Philip Solomon³⁵ was practicing law in New York City. Born in England in 1838, he came as a youth to this country, became prominent in Masonic and other fraternal orders, both Jewish and non-Jewish, and for many years edited the *Hebrew Leader* and its successor, the *Hebrew Standard*. He was the author of several works, one of which,³⁶ issued under the pseudonym Ben F. Rayim [son of Ephraim] is a satire against the Reform rabbinate of the 'nineties. Prof. Israel Davidson³⁷ calls it

the most skilful parody of this class [of those aimed against Reform Judaism] and shows the writer's exquisite sense for the diction and style of the Bible.

He died on his 71st birthday, May 26, 1909.

In a first edition volume of Abraham Mapu's romance *Ahavath Zion*, Vilna, 1853, once owned by Judge Mayer Sulzberger, and now in the possession of the Jewish Theological Seminary Library, Isaac Rivkind of the Seminary Library found, on the inside back cover, a lithographic copy of a Hebrew circular, neatly folded and pasted in, which he very kindly called to our attention. We deem it interesting in several respects and reproduce it herewith. It is written largely in Biblical diction (a fit insertion, therefore, in a volume which is a classical example of the Neo-Hebraic belletristic literature of the middle of the last century), bears the signature of the aforesaid "Jacob, son of Ephraim, Solomon" as "president of the Cardozo Society of New York," and urges the Jewish citizens of the city to vote for the reëlection of Judge Cardozo. Whoever composed it knew his Hebrew—and there were not many in 1867 in this city who mastered the language so well. Albert M. Friedenberg, contributing editor to the *Hebrew Standard*, 1907-1922, who remembers Solomon very well, assures me that he knew Hebrew well, but whether well enough to compose the circular unaided he is not certain. As is usual, this circular is undated, but apart from its content, which

³⁴ See "Hon. Albert Cardozo" in *Jewish Messenger*, New York, November 8, 1867, p. 8, and "The late Albert Cardozo" in *American Hebrew*, New York, November 13, 1885, p. 9.

³⁵ See *American Jewish Year Book* 5665, p. 190, and *American Hebrew*, 1909, v. 85, p. 91.

³⁶ *The chronicles of the rabbis; being an account of a banquet tendered to "Episcopus" [Gustav Gottheil] by the [Reform] rabbis . . . Dedicated to "Episcopus"*. New York, 1897. 16 p., in double columns. A copy of it is in the Kohut collection of our Library.

³⁷ In his *Parody in Jewish literature*, New York, 1907, pp. 79, 247.

indicates that it could not have been prepared in any year other than 1867, we have corroborating evidence as to this date. Up to 1866 *Trow's New York City Directory* lists the author's address as 15 Nassau Street. For 1867 he is listed as at 271 Broadway, the address given on the circular.

Finally, we give a free translation, much abbreviated, of the appeal, which is captioned *A call to the citizenry*. How glorious are

אליכם אישים אקרא!

מה נכבד עת החיה 'עה אשר קרא ה' דרור וחופש בארץ' שכל איש ואיש אשר עלה בתור המעלה ' שיהא פתוח לפניו להסתפח אל אחת הכהונות אשר מגיע לו לפי מעייני חכמתו ' באין הבדל עם לעם ' ומה מאוד עלזה נפשינו בראותנו כי אחד מאחינו ' הוא האלוף היקר אלבעז קארדאזע הוא שר ושופט וראש בבית המשפט זה חמש שנים ' ובחכמתו ועדקו ניהל במטה צדק ואמת ' ובדוחו הנדיבה עושה משפט לעשוקים ' לא עשה לאיש רעה ' לא עשק ולא ריעץ דלים ' הישרה לא עיקש ' והוא מחסה לכל רודפי צדק לכל יהיו נאלצים מכת גוזרי גזירות על העם ' אשר כמשא כבד יכבדו אלו כל וכןץ מונד וסילון ממאיר נחשב גזירתם בעיני בעלי דעה ובינה ' ונלאו העם מנושא הסבל אשר מטילים על העם ' להיות שערי המשיבי נפש סגורים ביום הראשון וכן בכל ימי חגותם חג ' ואם יצדע שאחד בהיחבא עבר חק זה ענוש יענוש וינתן בפלילים ' ובחכמת השופט הנכבד הלז קארדאזע עמד לימין צדקם של בעלי הפרנסה להעילם מרעת נפשם ' אף כי רבים משופטי הארץ לוחמים לו ' אך בחכמתו כי שגבה וברוחו הכביר נצח אותם ' כי אור האמת דוחה החושך והשקר ' לזאת ארחינו כל מי שחננו ה' דעה ובינה הפילו גורלות לזכות הנכבד הלז אשר חפץ בשובתכם והתאמצו שיעמוד עוד על משמרת כהונתו כי הכתר הלז הולמתו ודין נצח ' ורבים וכן שלימים יהיו עמדו מאת דורש טובת כל עם ועם ' לכבוד האמת והצדק

הק' יעקב ב"מ אפרים סאלאמאן

פרעזידענט קארדאזע חברה בעיר נוא יארק

עוד זאת אדרוש לטובת בני עמי שכל מי שלא השיג עוד בה זכויות המדינה

שיהא ראוי גם הוא לפלס במאזני המשפט והגורל שיוכל לזה להגיד—

דעתו קבל עם ' יבוא כל איש ואיש אלי ואנכי אגמור מעשיר—ו

וזכויותיו בשלמות

אדרעס

Jacob P. Solomon
Atty at Law, 271 Broadway, N.Y.

the times and the land in which we live, where every man, irrespective of his origin, can reach the highest office. How happy we have been to see one of our own brethren, the much respected Albert Cardozo, preside as judge during the last five years. With justice and wisdom he conducted his office. He meted out justice to the poor and the wronged. He tempered justice with mercy, particularly towards those who fell afoul of the blue Sunday laws. In acting so he has often encountered much political opposition, but he has always emerged victorious, just as surely as light eventually banishes darkness. Therefore, brethren, exercise your suffrage wisely and reëlect this honored man to the office for which he is so eminently fitted. The postscript reads: I ask my coreligionists one more thing. Those of you who have not yet qualified as citizens and voters please call on me. I will see it attended to, so that you may rightfully participate in the coming election.

Here, then, we have an early secular Hebrew document in excellent Hebrew, and a contribution to the periodically recurring question of the Jewish vote in politics. It is only fair to add, however, that there is no evidence to show whether the judge, in whose favor it circulated, urged this action or even approved it.

E. D. C.

SOME REMARKS ABOUT MESSENGERS FROM PALESTINE TO AMERICA.

Several attempts have been made to chronicle the early relations between the United States and Palestine, particularly those of the year 1759, when the first messenger to this country, R. Moses Malki, made his appearance, and several subsequent such missions. Our information on this subject we owe to the *Diary* of Ezra Stiles and to various recorded items to be found in the *Publications* of our Society. In 1932, Rev. Dr. D. deSola Pool gathered this scattered information and, adding several unknown facts from the minutes and financial accounts of the Congregation Shearith Israel, combined the whole into a notable paper.³⁸ The sources of this information have however, by no means been exhausted. In the archives of our Society, as well as in those of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, and possibly also at the Library of Congress, there undoubtedly exist

³⁸ See his "Early relations between Palestine and American Jewry," in "The Brandeis Avukah Annual of 1932," pp. 536-548.

documents which would bring new facts to light and greatly aid to complete our knowledge. Some such additions I wish to present here.

The earthquake at Safed occurred on Heshvan 9, 5520 (October 31, 1759³⁹). Early in 1761 the messenger, Haim Maduhy, was already here. This rather speedy arrival, considering the difficulties of a voyage from the Holy Land to our shores at that time, is a rather handsome tribute to the hopes placed, even in those far-off days, in American Jewry. It was usual for Palestinian messengers, in soliciting aid, to exaggerate the catastrophe which was responsible for their mission, to paint the report in the darkest colors, and not to be over-accurate as to details and figures. Particularly was it so when the messenger's destination was America, where the facts reported upon could not be checked easily, and where the rabbinic saying "he who wishes to falsify should place his evidence at a great distance" held especially good. In the case of Mudahy, however, no exaggeration was resorted to. When he reported that "one hundred and sixty souls lie buried beneath the ruins" he rather understated the number of victims. Other contemporaries put the figure higher.⁴⁰

Enoch Zundel, who styled himself "a true messenger from Jerusalem," came here in 1832 and remained several years. Pool might have added that an engraved portrait of him can be seen in the Society's Lyons Collection, scrapbook No. 1, fol. 79.⁴¹ On the reverse of the portrait is printed: "Drawn from memory and lithographed by A. A. Hoffay. Published by N. M. Friend & Co., No. 36, Maiden Lane, New York. Entered according to the Act of Congress in the year 1833 . . ." Portraits of Palestinian messengers are rather rare and it is noteworthy that most of the surviving ones were prepared in this country. That of Isaac Karigal is an earlier example.⁴² It was, therefore, deemed proper to reproduce herewith the one of Zundel.

³⁹ Not October 30, 1760, the civil date into which Pool, *supra*, p. 538, last line, converted it.

⁴⁰ Azulay gives the figure of 165 (see *עדות ביהוסף* ed. J. Ben-Zevie, Jerusalem, 1933, p. 7, note 1). R. Raphael Mejuches, rabbi of Jerusalem has it "about 162" (see *פרי האדמה* Saloniki, 1763, part 4, p. 6, and *תולדות חכמי ישראל* part 3, p. 87). Both Mudahy and Mejuches, whose information is not quoted by Ben-Zevie, confirm the date of the earthquake and the accuracy of Azulay's given number of victims. Ben-Zevie rightly concludes that the figures of the author of *עדות ביהוסף* (see *ibid.*, pp. 15, 19) are not correct.

⁴¹ See my article "Over a hundred years ago funds were being collected for Palestine in the United States," in *The Day*, April 12, 1933, p. 4.

⁴² See *Publications, supra*, No. 10, front., and p. 32.



רבי חנוך צונדל שליח נאמן מירושלים

ENOCH ZUNDEL, 1832.

In the same scrapbook, fol. 173, is a portrait of Yehiel b. R. Joseph (Besel) who in 1840 lithographed in New York a map of Palestine. He seems to have been a pseudo-messenger, or, perhaps, an ordinary impostor. Further details about him can be found among the records of the Shearith Israel Congregation.⁴³

A clipping from the New York *Sun* of Monday, May 8, 1848, in the aforementioned scrapbook, fol. 27, reads:

A Rabbi from Jerusalem, dressed in Oriental costume is attracting much attention in Boston. His name is M. M. Lusie, and his object in visiting this country is the collection of money for the relief of the poor of his native city.

I have no doubt that "M. M. Lusie" is a misspelling for R. Moses Suse, who in 1848 brought 42 casks of wine from Palestine. The proceeds of the sale were to be applied for charitable purposes (see *supra*, p. 55, note 8). This clipping is the first printed notice we have of Suse's stay in this country.

Among the important documents in the Lyons Collection⁴⁴ is the proclamation of 1732 which the Sephardic community of Amsterdam authorized R. Samuel Ha-Cohen, a messenger from Hebron, to present upon his arrival to America.⁴⁵ It was probably printed in Amsterdam. J. J. Lyons added in manuscript at the foot of the document:

The accompanying Circular A. M. 5532 (1772) was given me by Naphtaly Phillips, Esq., Head of the Congregation on Sunday the 15th of Tamooz 5608 (1848)—The document having been 76 years in the Archives of the Congregation.

To the 76 years which so impressed Lyons should be added 89 more years (since 1848), during which time the document reposed in the scrapbook. After a lapse of 165 years it is here made public for the first time. The proclamation confirms everything that is known to us from similar missives about the deplorable conditions of the Jews of Hebron, the large sums in which they became indebted, and the usurious interest which they had to pay to their Arab creditors (see note 47).

⁴³ See also, 1840 *מפת ארץ ישראל בעברית משנת* in *ציון* פ. בר אדון. Jerusalem, 1930, vol. iv, pp. 155-158. The seal mentioned there, "This seal is the impression of the German synagogue in Jerusalem," is pasted in at the bottom of the portrait, and can, of course, be seen in the scrapbook. The map, unfortunately, is not there.

⁴⁴ Scrapbook No. 1, fol. 12-13.

⁴⁵ See *Publications*, *supra*, No. 29, p. 32; and Pool, *supra*, p. 542.

PUBLICAÇÃO.

Que fazem os Senhores H. H^m. da Santa Cidade de יְהוּדָה que DEOS restaure.

Nos abaixo firmados, com lagrimas nos olhos, & tristeza de coração, notificamos por esta, a todos os Senhores Parnassim, Thezoureyros, & individuos, de todas as קהלות קדושות de Israel, que habitão pellas partes da America, hũa pequena parte, do nosso grande aperto & consternação, da decadencia & miseravel estado, em que a o presente, (ויקהל do A^o.5532.) nos achamos todos os moradores, da populosa & Santa Cidade de יְהוּדָה, (que em nossos dias Deos restaure,) colmada de fabios, virtuosos, & tementes de Deos, sitio por quem Deos publicou, ser mais fermosa de todas as terras, donde estão sepultados, os tres Patriarcas, ABRAHAM, ISHAC & JAHACOB, Pilares do Mundo; motivado das guerras que ha entre os Governadores & Senhores desta Cidade, que tem originado hũa grande miseria, carestia & fome, por ja aver tres annos que está sitiada, por Mar & por Terra, empedindo o paço de sahir & entrar, que nos tem assolado & acabado todos os nossos bems, que foy causa de individarnos, augmentando os devitos de tal maneira, que a o presente tem chegado a somma de 30000 peças, de vinte por cento de interese, ficando a vista dos nossos acredores, por não poder satisfazellos, apertados & ultrajados, & ja para dilatar o tempo da paga de ditta somma, temos peitado a o Senhor da Cidade, com aver empenhado todas as pessas sagradas das Santas Esnogas para rogar a os acredores nos desem tempo, para buscar algum alivio & socorro, & agora pellos nossos peccados, nos achamos novamentes perseguidos, com prosecuçoes & mãos decretos, por razaõ destes nossos acredores, que estão determinados a desterarnos deste sacro lugar, tomando os principaes desta santa congrega, pondo-os em amargas prisoens & suas mulheres & filhos vendidos por escravos, resolvidos ja a apoderarse das nossas santas Esnogas, não nos ficando so, que a nossa miseravel vida, para o sentimento destes continuados golpes, desgraças, & infortunios.

Este foy o motivo de avermos deliberado, (o que até o presente jamais para estes lugares se fes,) de mandar por Saliah de Misvah a o Senhor H. H. R. SEMUEL ACOHEN, a todos as santas קהלות destas partes, para que depois de referirlihes localmente, esta nossa inexplicavel desgraça & consternação, em que agora nos achamos, rogarlihes, pedirlihes, & suplicarlihes, com animo postrado, que como caritativos, piadosos, esmoleiros, & tementes de Deos, que sempre serviraõ de deffença & amparo, a todos os grandes apertos, em que se acharaõ muitas vezes, os nossos circunvisinhos, tomem parte no nosso sentimento, se comovaõ do nosso grande aperto, & não encubraõ os olhos da nossa consternação & perigo, em que a o presente nos achamos, antes abrem a sua liberal mão, participando do que Deos lhes foy servido conceder, para estabelecimento, desta santa cidade, matrona de Israel, a que não fique em poder de estranhos, & para esta grande misvah de שבוים פדיון שבויים, para por este meyo, (com o favor divino,) poder achar algum alivio, para a redempção das nossas almas & as das nossas mulheres & familias, livrandonos desta amarga oppressão, por cuja obra meritoria interogaremos a divina clemencia, quo o merito dos prtriarcas, sepultados em esta, serva de amparo a todos que participem para esta pia obra, para

more decrees. Our creditors are determined to expel us from this sacred place, to jail the officers of this Holy Congregation, putting them in badly constructed jails; to sell our wives and our children as slaves. They have also decided to appropriate for themselves our Holy Synagogue, leaving us but with our miserable life because of the feelings of these uninterrupted blows, disgraces and misfortunes.

Because of this we decided to send (something which was never done before in these places) Mr. H. H. R. Samuel Acohen as emissary (Saliah de Misvah) to all the synagogues of these places in order that, after telling orally of this unexplained disgrace and consternation in which we find ourselves, he may ask, beg and supplicate with a prostrate heart all those charitable, pious and God-fearing philanthropists who will always serve as defense and shelter against all great disasters in which were found many times our neighbors, to take part in our feelings, to be moved by our great affliction and that they do not close their eyes to the consternation and danger in which we find ourselves at present. On the contrary they should give freely from whatever God has given them, for the restoration of the holy city, matron of Israel, that it may not remain in the hands of strangers. With these means (and the divine grace) we may yet be able to find some relief for the redemption of our souls, those of our wives and families, and liberate ourselves from this sad oppression. For this great and meritorious work of **פדיון שבויים** we shall implore for divine indulgence that the good qualities of the patriarchs buried in it may serve as protection to all those who will participate in this pious work, and may allow them a long life, in company of their homes and noble families accompanied with all sorts of material and spiritual happiness. Amen.

The signatories of the present circular are the same rabbis and scholars (with the exception of one name missing) who signed a letter at Hebron in 1763, which they dispatched to this country.⁴⁸ Instead of the missing name we have here that of the famous Talmudist and bibliographer, R. Hayyim Joseph David Azulay.

ISAAC RIVKIND.

⁴⁸ See G. A. Kohut, "Ezra Stiles and the Jews," New York, 1902, pp. 65-66.

NECROLOGY.

MAX JAMES KOHLER.

On July 24, 1934, there passed away widely regretted, a great champion of his people, unselfishly devoted to the ideals of his faith, and the ideals of the founders of the republic.

The career of Max James Kohler was broader even than that, for he was a man of such varied gifts that separate and appreciative sketches of him might well be written by specialists in widely different fields. He was like some rare jewel which has many different facets, each varying in appeal, but whether viewed individually or collectively, always evoking admiration. He was a distinguished jurist, an effective communal worker, a careful historian, a noted publicist, a scholar, a useful citizen and always a patriotic American.¹

Max J. Kohler was born in Detroit, Michigan, May 22, 1871. From both his paternal and maternal forebears he inherited his scholarly tastes, and his forceful way of expressing his convictions. His father, Rev. Dr. Kaufmann Kohler, was for years the eminent president of the Hebrew Union College, while his maternal grandfather, Rev. Dr. David Einhorn, was one the foremost rabbis of his day.

While still at college, Kohler gave promise of his rare abilities by taking several of the coveted literary prizes. After graduation from the College of the City of New York in 1890, he entered Columbia University, where he obtained his degree of Master of Arts and Bachelor of Laws, and captured the prize in constitutional law as well. He was admitted to the New York Bar in 1893, and shortly thereafter became an

¹ His work as a jurist and communal worker has been given to the public heretofore in splendid sketches by two distinguished men, Judge Irving Lehman of the New York Court of Appeals, and Judge Abram I. Elkus, formerly of the same court, and ambassador to Turkey. A personal appreciation by his lifelong friend Henry Necar-sulmer was likewise published shortly after his death.

assistant United States attorney. He soon attracted the attention of his superiors as well as of the Federal judges, by his great learning, his skill and above all his fine sense of fairness in handling complicated cases.

After a few years, he resigned public office to devote himself to private practice. His broad knowledge of law and his masterly briefs were soon recognized by the profession, and he was retained as counsel not only by the government, but frequently by some of our leading law firms as well.

His services as assistant United States attorney brought him in contact with many immigration cases, in which branch of the law he became more and more interested later on, when he noted the hardships to which the helpless immigrants and aliens were exposed. He appeared in many such cases at the instance of charitable organizations and patriotic societies, and frequently carried them to the highest tribunal of the land. I believe that by universal consent he was looked upon as the foremost authority on the subject, whose advice and opinion were sought not only by immigration and charitable organizations, but by legislators and congressional committees as well. He was generally successful, and created many noted precedents. He became the champion of the alien when unjustly discriminated against, not only of his own people, but of all denominations, and some of his leading cases were fought on behalf of the persecuted Armenians, the Hindus and the Chinese.

It was my rare privilege to have been associated with Kohler for very many years up to the time of his death, both as friend and confidant as well as office associate, and I know how unselfishly he gave his time, his great learning and experience even to the humblest petitioners, irrespective of race or creed, without the slightest thought of remuneration or recognition. In fact during the last twenty-five years of his life he never accepted any remuneration for services in immigration cases, and I recall one occasion when a very substantial retainer was offered him by influential national

leaders to undertake a difficult test case. He refused the retainer, but took the case which he carried successfully through the United States Supreme Court. He frequently told me that he regarded all these services as his contribution to charity. It was his firm conviction that our country was intended by the founders to be the haven of refuge for the oppressed of all countries, and he was always actuated by this ideal.

His great learning is embodied in a long series of briefs in connection with immigration law, which are highly regarded by the legal profession. Many of these are listed in the extensive bibliography of his writings prepared by Edward D. Coleman.² His efforts found expression, besides the briefs referred to, in numerous able articles which appeared from time to time, and which were extensively cited by legislators, publicists and historians. A few of the more prominent of these articles are:

"The Un-American Character of Race Legislation," 1909.

"Injustice of the Literacy Test for Immigrants," 1911.

"Some Aspects of the Immigration Problem," 1914.

"Registration of Aliens—A Dangerous Project," 1924.

"American Immigration Conditions," 1918.

"The Right of Asylum with Particular Reference to the Alien," 1917.

These are but a few of his contributions to the subject, and in all of them there is present a vast amount of historical research, which takes them out of the realm of ephemeral literature.

Aside from these public services, his great abilities were devoted to a valuable practice as well as to professional ideals and, in the latter connection, he served for many years on the committees on legislation of the Association of the Bar, and the New York County Lawyers Association.

The extensive research and the drain upon his time in all these labors would have been sufficient for most men, but

² See *supra*, p. 165, *et seq.*

Kohler had other important interests as well. Foremost among these was his devotion to the Jewish people in communal work and in their history. There was certainly no movement of Jewish interest during the past thirty years, that did not owe a deep debt of gratitude to Max J. Kohler. During all that period he acted as secretary for the Baron de Hirsch Fund, and his splendid work on the American Jewish Committee made him the worthy and able associate of the late Louis Marshall, and the other prominent champions of our people.

After the great war, and during the sessions of the peace conference in France, he was in constant contact with the late Oscar S. Straus, Louis Marshall, and other representatives, in securing the protection of minorities in the various nationalities. In this connection too, he contributed many pamphlets of great value, which are frequently cited by writers on that stirring period. In fact while the war was still on, he wrote three valuable works for the American Jewish Historical Society and the Jewish Publication Society of America, probably anticipating that the question of Jewish rights would eventually have to come before a peace convention. These essays are splendid examples of painstaking historical research. They are:

"Jewish Disabilities in the Balkan States," published in 1916;

"Jewish Rights at International Congresses," (1917); and

"Jewish Rights at the Congress of Vienna and Aix la Chapelle," (1918).

When the great Jewish tragedy developed in Germany, Kohler was deeply affected, and wrote a valuable paper entitled "The United States and German Jewish Persecutions. Precedents for Popular and Governmental Action." This, deemed so important as to be incorporated in abstract form in the *Congressional Record* of February 1, 1934, gives an elaborate historical review of the various instances in which our government used its influence on behalf of persecuted minorities in Europe.

But the great avocation of Kohler's life was American Jewish history. To this he devoted a large part of his time with splendid results. He was one of the founders of this Society, along with that group of distinguished Jewish scholars, which included Dr. Cyrus Adler, the late Oscar S. Straus and Judge Simon W. Rosendale. His whole soul was devoted to the advancement of this Society and there is hardly a volume of its *Publications*, to which he did not contribute some article of distinct and lasting merit. He may indeed be regarded as a genius, when we have in mind the famous definition that genius is the quality of taking infinite pains, for his researches were always exhaustive, and his contributions fortified by the best available authorities.

A list of his historical writings would be much too long to insert here. A few of the more important however, were:

- "Beginnings of New York Jewish History."
- "Civil Status of the Jews in Colonial New York."
- "The Jews of Newport."
- "The Jews and the American Anti-Slavery Movement."
- "Jewish Activity in American Colonial Commerce."
- "Dr. Rodrigo Lopez, Queen Elizabeth's Jewish Physician."
- "Phases in the History of Religious Liberty in America."
- "Judah P. Benjamin, Statesman and Jurist."

Besides the list already referred to, he contributed interesting historical monographs to various publications, including his valuable contributions to the volumes of the *Judaicans*, and an immense number of articles in "The Jewish Encyclopedia." Early in life he edited Judge Charles P. Daly's "Settlement of the Jews in North America," which he greatly expanded by his own scholarly notes and, only a few years ago, he edited Luzzatti's great work "God in Freedom," to which he added two splendid supplementary chapters of his own.

His devotion to the American Jewish Historical Society continued throughout his busy life. No meeting of the council was complete without him, and he always had some important and useful contribution to make to the discussions.

This was true also of every other organization with which he was connected. Through him, this Society obtained some of its most valuable gifts, and he always sought to interest scholars in its work. He frequently assisted those who were preparing papers, and generously gave material which he himself had collected, to workers in historical fields. In fact several of the articles in our *Publications* were written at his instance, and by his encouragement. He was one of the vice-presidents of the Society at the time of his death, and his devotion is attested in his will, by which he left it not only an ultimate monetary bequest, but his valuable library of Judaica, which is now part of our collections.

Among the honors which came to Kohler early in life were election to Phi Beta Kappa, his designation as secretary of the national committee for the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the settlement of Jews in the United States and, later, president of the Judaeans. The degree of doctor of Hebrew law was conferred upon him *honoris causa* by the Hebrew Union College some years ago.

There were two outstanding qualities in Kohler's character which impressed all who came in contact with him. The first and foremost of these was his indomitable courage. Whether in court or before a congressional committee he was always utterly fearless. The same spirit pervaded his literary work as well. If he felt that he was in the right, no man or group stood so high, nor was any writer so eminent, whom he would not challenge, and generally successfully. In all this, however, there was never any self-aggrandizement, and his sincerity, fairness and great learning always commanded the most profound respect. The other quality was his absolute unselfishness in assisting others, whether with legal advice, or with the results of his own researches. He was always ready to give the best of himself, and many were the cases where he turned over to others the results of his painstaking work. There were cases too when the recipient used the material so generously given, without making any acknowledgement what-

soever in the published work. While Kohler keenly felt the injustice in such cases, it never changed his attitude, for he always continued to be ready to assist.

Kohler's marriage in 1906 to Miss Winifred Lichtenauer was an ideal union. She was a lovely soul, who during their married life, spread sunshine in his path. Her loss in 1922 left a sad and lasting impression. His devotion to his parents, his brother and sisters was beautiful throughout.

Shortly after his death, a great memorial meeting was held in his honor sponsored by twenty-two organizations with which he had been affiliated, and the many distinguished men and women of all ranks, both Jews and Gentiles, who attended, bore the most eloquent testimony to his genius for friendship, and the great respect in which he was held. The following tribute, written by me for that occasion, though it be inadequate, is both true and sincere:

Dear friend and faithful comrade,
Thy noble work is done;
And crowned are thy achievements,
With laurels fairly won.

A champion of the lowly,
Untiring and sincere,
Thou wer't a knight undaunted,
Without reproach or fear.

A prince in realms of learning,
Thou gavest of thy store,
Unstintingly to others,
What they required, and more.

For "Service" was thy motto,
With ne'er a thought of fame,
And many hearts, and grateful,
Enshrine thy honored name.

The world may well applaud thee,
And praise thee without end;
But we, with love, accord thee,
The dearer name of friend.

LEON HUHNER.

GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT.

When George Alexander Kohut died, December 31, 1933, about six weeks before his sixtieth birthday which his friends and admirers had planned to celebrate, American Jewry, nay Jewry everywhere, was deprived of an important figure. Born in Stuhlweissenburg, Hungary, February 11, 1874, he received his early education in the schools of his native land. He was but eleven years old when he was brought to this country by his distinguished father, Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut, an eloquent preacher and great scholar, who was then (in 1885) called to the rabbinate of Congregation Ahavat Chesed in New York. In this city Kohut continued his studies in school and college, and under distinguished private tutors, among whom may be named Gustav Gottheil, Arnold B. Ehrlich, and Joshua A. Joffe. But more than all, it was the influence, inspiration, and teaching of his father which contributed most to the shaping of his career. After the death of his father, which occurred in 1894, George Alexander Kohut went to Berlin, Germany, and there became the devout disciple of Moritz Steinschneider, the foremost Jewish bibliographer, from whom he inherited a passion and love for bibliography, and received instruction from Martin Schreiner, Hermann Steinthal and others at the *Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*. At the University of Berlin he was a favorite student of the distinguished Christian rabbinic scholar Professor Hermann L. Strack. When in 1897 he returned to America and received rabbinical ordination from eminent rabbis, he accepted a call to the pulpit of Congregation Emanuel, Dallas, Texas, but due to illness he had to return to New York a few years later (in 1900). He now turned to teaching and joined the faculty of the Kohut School for Girls. He served as director of the religious school of Temple Emanu-El (1902-12), and for several years (1902-05), as assistant librarian in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. As founder of the Kohut school for boys and of Kamp Kohut he rendered

pioneer service in the development of Jewish secular schools in America. From 1920 till the time of his death he administered the affairs of the Columbia Grammar School, the oldest private school in New York City. His very lively and keen interest in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, the American Academy for Jewish Research and the Jewish Institute of Religion adequately testifies to his serious concern for the promotion of Jewish learning in this country. But the greatest testimony to his concern for the promotion of Jewish learning is to be sought in the work of those foundations which he established in various countries to make possible the publication of the works of mature research in Jewish scholarship. The Alexander Kohut memorial publication fund at Yale University; the Alexander Kohut memorial foundations at Vienna, Berlin, Budapest and New York have all issued important publications under their own imprint and have cooperated with others, individuals and institutions, in making possible the issuance of similarly valuable works. In all this the aim of Kohut was also to honor the memory of his sainted father. To encourage younger men in the pursuit of Jewish studies he also established, at Vienna, the Dr. A. S. Bettelheim foundation and the *Dr. H. P. Chajes-Preisstiftung* and under their imprint there appeared several important monographs. Through these foundations he gave expression to the honor and reverence in which he regarded names dear to him, and also established for himself a lasting memorial.

In the American Jewish Historical Society he took an extraordinary active interest. He made important contributions to its *Publications* and for a time served on its executive council. In fact he was one of the early pioneers in encouraging the study of and research in American Jewish history. To the Society's library he bequeathed his own rich collection of books and papers pertaining to American Jewish life and literature. He always maintained a deep and sincere interest in its welfare and a belief in its usefulness. He encouraged younger students to pursue studies in American Jewish history and to

many of them he extended a helping hand. His own contributions to the pages of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* are interesting and some of them of durable value. They are all rich in authentic and curious information throwing light upon striking phases in American Jewish life.

Despite his manifold activities and his frail health he found it possible to give a large part of his time to study and reading, which intensified and ordered his knowledge of Jewish life and lore, and gave him a wide acquaintance with the literature and learning of other peoples as well. Many a study in Jewish literature, Jewish history and biography, which appeared within the last quarter of a century, abounds in acknowledgment of the aid, material and other, which Kohut so generously gave to numerous scholars.

George Alexander Kohut was at home in many literatures—Hebrew, Hungarian, English, French, German and Spanish. He loved most their masterpieces in prose and poetry. He was one of the most prolific writers modern Jewry produced. He wrote with ease and grace and free from the stiffness generally ascribed to the average scholar's style. With interests wide, an intellect keen, and a pen always ready, whether for prose or for poetry, his literary productivity was naturally great. His published writings, numerous and scattered in many places as they are, give but an imperfect idea of Kohut's phenomenal literary and scientific industry. The bibliography of George Alexander Kohut compiled by Edward D. Coleman (in "*Jewish Studies in Memory of George A. Kohut*," New York, 1935, pp. xii-xciii), rich as it is, is far from being exhaustive. Many an entry escaped the careful hands of the compiler because of Kohut's frequent use of pseudonyms no longer identifiable.

The contributions that he made to Jewish life and learning, the glory that he reflected upon the Jewish name are but a small portion of the picture of Kohut's noble and good life. Bearing a distinguished family name he added lustre to it by the high standards which he embodied in his own character and ser-

vice. He was a true **בן יכבד אב** son who honoreth the father's memory. In 1928 the Jewish Institute of Religion conferred upon him the degree of doctor of Hebrew letters, *honoris causâ*. The citation, which Dr. Stephen S. Wise gave in conferring the degree, evaluates tersely Kohut the man and scholar:

George Alexander Kohut, the fineness of whose filial piety and the unwearableness of whose devotion to Jewish causes have enhanced the memory and name of his eminent father, Alexander Kohut, bibliographer and historiographer of distinction; seeker of rare discernment and aptness along the little known by-ways of Hebraic lore; builder and sustainer of institutions of learning sacred and secular; enricher of Jewish values out of the inexhaustible store of a life-time dedicated to the loftiest tradition of Jewish life and letters; generous in the furtherance of Jewish scholarship and more than generous and brotherly in the giving of strength and substance to all true disciples and servants, from the greatest to the least of *Jüdische Wissenschaft*—I herewith admit you to the degree of doctor of Hebrew letters.

It is virtually impossible to convey an adequate idea of the genial radiance and élan of Kohut's personality. It was charming, nay even magnetic. His versatility and happy flashes of humor and brilliancy brought everybody under his spell. He possessed a happy temperament, a generous nature and chivalrous soul. Yet, he was simple, tender and considerate. He loved children and respected age and position, but above all he valued learning and character. His charm and delightful company made possible a larger and diversified circle of friends and admirers, both here and abroad. He cherished unbounded love for his family and equally unbounded affection for his friends. His was a noble nature incapable of envy and pettiness. His sense of loyalty was strongly exerted in behalf of many a cause and friendship.

Kohut's absence from our midst is a source of grief and a serious loss. The influence he exerted through his work and through his genial personality upon the life of the community will remain a monument to his memory for all time.

JOSHUA BLOCH.

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CONSTITUTION.

NAME.

I. The name of this Society shall be the "American Jewish Historical Society."

OBJECTS.

II. The objects shall be the collection, preservation, and publication of material having reference to the settlement and history of Jews on the American Continent, and the promotion of the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent.

MEMBERS.

III. Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying five dollars; and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of five dollars.

On payment of one hundred dollars, any person may become a life member exempt from fees.

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a patron of the Society by paying the sum of fifty dollars a year in fees; and transfers, on request, may be made from regular membership to the class of patrons. Patrons shall have all the rights and privileges of members.

Persons may be elected as honorary members and be exempt from the payment of fees; but no honorary member shall be elected except by the unanimous vote of the Executive Council.

Persons approved by the Executive Council may be elected as corresponding members, and be exempt from the payment of fees.

Any member who shall have neglected or omitted to pay his annual dues for three successive years shall, on notice to him from the Treasurer of that fact and of this provision, *ipso facto* cease to be a member of this Society unless within one month after said notice he pays all of his dues in arrears or shall be excused therefrom by the Executive Council of the Society, which is hereby authorized on proper grounds to remit said dues.

OFFICERS.

IV. The officers shall be a President, four or more Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Curator, and an Executive Council, consisting of the foregoing officers and of twelve other members elected by the Society, with the ex-presidents of the Society. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the Society. The additional members of the Executive Council shall be elected as provided in and by Section 3 of Article II of the By-Laws of the Society.

COUNCIL.

V. The Executive Council shall have charge of the general interests of the Society, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

AMENDMENTS.

VI. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Council.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.

MEMBERS.

Section 1. The dues of members of the Society, including those elected between the 1st day of October and the 1st day of April in a fiscal year, shall be payable annually on the 1st day of October for said fiscal year in advance. Those joining as members between the 1st day of April and the 1st day of October in a fiscal year shall at such time pay dues only for the current half-year, proportionately, and thereafter shall pay full yearly dues in advance on the 1st day of October in each year.

Section 2. The fiscal year shall extend and include from the 1st day of October to the 30th day of September next ensuing in each calendar year.

Section 3. The President and the Corresponding Secretary, whenever the Society or its Executive Council is not in session, shall have the power to act upon applications for membership in the Society.

Section 4. Members whose dues are more than one year in arrear on the 1st day of October, at the opening of a new fiscal year, shall not be entitled to receive such publications as the Society may thereafter issue until and unless such dues in arrears shall have been fully liquidated.

ARTICLE II.

OFFICERS, ETC.

Section 1. The term for which officers of the Society shall be chosen is one year and until their successors shall have been duly elected and qualified.

Section 2. Vacancies occurring in the term of any officer of the Society shall be filled by the vote of a majority of the members of the Executive Council, present at any meeting thereof, for the remainder of said term.

Section 3. The term for which additional members of the Executive Council of the Society shall be chosen is three years and until

their successors shall have been duly elected and qualified. At the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Society twelve additional members of the Executive Council shall be chosen, of whom four shall hold office as such for one year, four for two years, and four for three years, in accordance with the action of the Society at such annual meeting. The successors of each of said additional members of the Executive Council shall thereafter hold office as hereinbefore first provided.

Section 4. Vacancies occurring in the term of any additional member of the Executive Council of the Society shall be filled, until the annual meeting of the Society thereafter, by the vote of a majority of the members of the Executive Council, present at any meeting thereof. At the annual meeting of the Society thereafter, such vacancies shall be filled by election by the Society for the remainder of said original term.

Section 5. Officers of the Society and additional members of the Executive Council, who have served as such for at least twenty-five consecutive years, may be chosen honorary members of the Executive Council of the Society by vote of the members thereof at any stated meeting of the Executive Council.

ARTICLE III.

DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

Section 1. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and the Executive Council, fix the time and place for holding the meetings of the latter, appoint members of all committees when not named in resolutions, fill vacancies therein, and add to the membership thereof when requested to do so by the chairmen thereof. He shall have a general supervision of the Society and be *ex officio* a member of all committees.

Section 2. In case of the death, resignation or inability of the President to perform his duties, his functions and powers shall devolve upon the Vice-Presidents in the order of seniority respectively. If the President and all the Vice-Presidents shall be absent from any meeting of the Society or its Executive Council, a chairman *pro tempore* shall be chosen for such meeting by the members present thereat.

Section 3. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, under the direction of the President. He shall have charge of the Seal, Charter, Constitution, By-Laws

and records of the Society and certify or attest all instruments from the Society. He shall issue all notices of meetings, and notify all members of their election and of such other matters as may be directed by the Society, the Executive Council or the President. He shall receive, duly file and safely keep all papers, reports and documents, other than those appertaining to the Treasurer and the Curator, belonging to the Society, and at each meeting of the Society or the Executive Council report such letters and communications, as far as practicable, as he may have received since the time of his previous report. He shall distribute the minutes of meetings of the Executive Council among the members thereof within two weeks after each meeting has been held, and generally perform such other duties for the Society's business and development as may be necessary, proper and requisite.

Section 4. The Recording Secretary shall keep fair and accurate records of the minutes of each meeting of the Society and its Executive Council, and promptly transmit the same, after each has adjourned, to the Corresponding Secretary.

Section 5. The Treasurer shall receive, collect and hold subject to the order of the Executive Council all moneys, securities and other valuable papers of the Society, deposit all moneys in one or more banks or trust companies in the City of New York or elsewhere, approved by the Executive Council, pay all bills when the same are accompanied by vouchers drawn, signed and approved by the President and the Corresponding Secretary jointly, and render a financial report at each regular meeting of the Society and each meeting of the Executive Council. On the 1st day of April and the 1st day of October in each fiscal year he shall send bills for unpaid dues to the members of the Society, and shall notify the Corresponding Secretary of all changes and terminations in the membership of the Society. He shall notify the Corresponding Secretary on the 1st days of March and November in each fiscal year of all the members who on such dates shall be in arrears for dues, and the amounts of such arrearages.

Section 6. The Curator, under the direction of the Executive Council, shall have charge and superintendence of the library and collections of the Society, and the care and arrangement of the books, manuscripts and other articles belonging to the Society. He shall cause to be prepared and kept to date a proper catalogue and list of the same, and shall acknowledge the receipt of accessions donated to the Society. He shall expend in the purchase of

books and other articles, and for their safekeeping and preservation, such sums of money, with the approbation of the Executive Council or the President, as shall from time to time be appropriated for the purpose, and render proper vouchers therefor to the Executive Council. He shall make a full report, at each regular annual meeting of the Society, on the condition and progress of the library and the collections of the Society.

ARTICLE IV.

MEETINGS.

Section 1. There shall be held not less than two stated meetings of the Executive Council in each fiscal year. Written notice thereof shall be sent to each member of the Executive Council at least two weeks in advance thereof.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Executive Council shall be called upon the written request of at least five members thereof.

Section 3. Six members of the Executive Council shall be the requisite number for a quorum to transact business at any meeting thereof.

Section 4. Fifteen members of the Society shall be the requisite number for a quorum to transact business at any meeting thereof.

Section 5. Nothing herein contained shall operate to prevent the Society or its Executive Council from voting upon any proposition laid before either or both by mail.

ARTICLE V.

COMMITTEES.

Section 1. The following standing committees, namely: on publication, finance, and audit, shall be appointed by the President at the regular annual meeting of the Society, or within thirty days after the termination thereof, to hold office until their successors are appointed.

Section 2. The committee on publication shall consist of not less than three nor more than five members, who must be officers of the Society or additional members of its Executive Council. It shall have charge of preparing, editing and issuing the publications of the Society, and has the authority by delegation from the Executive Council to determine what papers shall be published.

Section 3. The committee on finance shall consist of at least three members, of whom the Treasurer shall be one, all of whom shall be members of the Executive Council. It shall have charge of the investments of the Society, with full power to make or alter any such in its discretion, and shall supervise and foster the permanent fund of the Society. Investments of the funds of the Society shall be limited to such as are lawful for savings banks and trustees in the State of New York, pursuant to the laws thereof made and provided from time to time.

Section 4. The committee on audit shall consist of two members. Its duty shall be to audit and examine the Treasurer's accounts and the vouchers thereunto appertaining and to report the result of its examination to the President or the Executive Council.

Section 5. A special committee on local arrangements shall be appointed to consist of not less than three nor more than five members of the Society, preferably residing in the locality at which each annual meeting of the Society takes place. Its duty shall be to care for and supervise all the details of the local arrangements for such annual meeting, including the edifice in which the same shall be held.

Section 6. A special committee on nominations shall be appointed to consist of not less than two nor more than five members of the Society, and no candidate for office shall be debarred therefrom by reason of his membership of this committee. Its duty shall be to report a list of nominees as officers and additional members of the Executive Council of the Society for election at the annual meetings of the Society.

Section 7. The right to make additional nominations from the floor at the annual meetings of the Society on the part of any duly-qualified member thereof is not abridged in any way by the provisions of Section 6 hereof.

Section 8. A special committee on programme shall be appointed to consist of three members, of whom the Corresponding Secretary shall be one. Its duty shall be to prepare and suitably print and distribute the programme of each annual meeting of the Society. It shall endeavor to secure appropriate publicity therefor, and shall have the right to determine the fitness and availability of papers to be submitted at such annual meetings, and the determination of the time to be allotted to each for presentation thereat.

Section 9. Special committees shall be appointed by the President pursuant to resolution of the Society or its Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.

FUNDS.

Section 1. The permanent fund of the Society shall consist of the donations or bequests made to it, the payments received from members for life, and the interest and accumulations of the same. It shall not be drawn against except by and with the approval of the Executive Council by a formal vote to that end. The permanent fund shall be kept and used primarily to further research work in which the Society as such may be interested.

Section 2. The President shall have power at any time to authorize the payment of a sum or sums, not exceeding fifty dollars in the aggregate, in a single instance, out of the general fund of the Society, for the purpose of subventioning research work of any nature approved by him.

Section 3. The publication fund of the Society, as at present constituted, shall be employed so far as possible to defray the cost of the publications issued by the Society. Payments out of this fund shall be made by the Treasurer upon vouchers signed by the President and the Corresponding Secretary jointly.

Section 4. The general fund of the Society shall be employed to defray the current running expenses of the Society. Payments out of this fund shall be made by the Treasurer upon vouchers signed by the President and the Corresponding Secretary jointly.

ARTICLE VII.

SEAL.

Section 1. The seal of the Society shall consist of the following design: In the field a scroll on the face of which appear the words (in Hebrew), זכר ימות עולם, and on the circumference, American Jewish Historical Society.

ARTICLE VIII.

AMENDMENTS.

Section 1. These by-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any annual meeting of the Society, notice of such amendment having been given in the printed programme of such meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Council.

Section 2. To entitle a proposed amendment to these by-laws to be included in the programme of an annual meeting of the Society, it must be formulated in writing, signed by not less than five members of the Society, communicated to the Corresponding Secretary not less than sixty days before the date of the annual meeting of the Society at which action thereon is contemplated, and notified to the members of the Society not less than ten days before the annual meeting thereof.

LIST OF MEMBERS.¹

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

- Elkan N. Adler, 46 & 47 London Wall, E. C., London, England.
Prof. George Lincoln Burr, President White Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
William Vincent Byars, 425 N. Taylor Avenue, Kirkwood, St. Louis County, Mo.
G. R. G. Conway, Apartado 490, Mexico, D. F., Mexico.
Frank Cundall, F.S.A., Institute of Jamaica, Kingston, Jamaica, B. W. I.
Wilberforce Eames, New York Public Library 476 Fifth Ave., New York.
Dr. A. Freimann, Stadtbibliothek, Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany.
Rev. Dr. Moses Gaster, Haham, 193 Maida Vale, W. 9, London, England.
Dr. Max Grunwald, Helenenstrasse 9, Baden near Vienna, Austria.
J. M. Hillesum, care Rosenthal Library, University, Amsterdam, Holland.
Archer M. Huntington, 1 E. 89th Street, New York.
Albert M. Hyamson, 32 Teignmouth Road, N. W. 2, London, England.
Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
Grand Rabbin Israël Lévi, 54 Rue La Bruyère, Paris, France.
Rev. S. Levy, New Synagogue, Egerton Road, Stamford Hill, N., London, England.
Claude G. Montefiore, 42 Portman Square, W. 1, London, England.
J. S. da Silva Rosa, Port. Isr. Seminarium Ets Haim, J. D. Meijerplein 5, Amsterdam, Holland.
Dr. Cecil Roth, 65c Compayne Gardens, N. W. 6, London, England.
Sigmund Seeligmann, Nic. Witsenstraat 7, Amsterdam, Holland.
Prof. Werner Sombart, Handelshochschule, Berlin-Charlottenburg, 5, Germany.

PATRONS.

- Louis Bamberger, Executive Offices, L. Bamberger & Co., Newark, N. J.
Lee M. Friedman, 30 State Street, Boston, Mass.
Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, 1320 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, 57 State Street, Albany, N. Y.

¹ This list is corrected to 1937. Kindly notify the corresponding secretary of all errors and changes therein.

LIFE MEMBERS.

James H. Hyde, 7 Rue de l'Ermitage, Versailles, France.
Louis Samter Levy, 120 Broadway, New York.
Jacob D. Lit, 1014 Packard Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
Grover Magnin, care Magnin & Co., San Francisco, Cal.
Newport Historical Society, Newport, R. I.
Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, 23 W. 73d Street, New York.

MEMBERS.

A.

Dr. Cyrus Adler, 2041 N. Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Cyrus Adler, 2041 N. Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Henry A. Alexander, Fourth National Bank Building, Atlanta, Ga.
Ben. Altheimer, care Ladenburg, Thalmann & Co., 25 Broad Street,
New York.
Philip Werner Amram, Packard Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Joseph Mayor Asher, 225 Central Park W., New York.
Dr. Dora Askowith, care A. W. A. Clubhouse, 353 W. 57th Street,
New York.

B.

Prof. Salo W. Baron, Columbia University, New York.
Walter S. Beck, 22 E. 40th Street, New York.
Bernard Benfield, 704 Kohl Building, San Francisco, Cal.
Jacob S. Berliner, 10 W. 86th Street, New York.
Albert Berney, care Isaac Hamburger & Sons, Baltimore and Hanover
Streets, Baltimore, Md.
Henry J. Bernheim, 44 W. 77th Street, New York.
Isaac W. Bernheim, 825 York Street, Denver, Colo.
Dr. C. S. Bernheimer, 98 Riverside Drive, New York.
Israel Bernstein, 119 Exchange Street, Portland, Maine.
Dr. Joshua Bloch, care New York Public Library, 476 Fifth Avenue,
New York.
Gordon A. Block, Packard Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
Dr. Harry Bloom, 180 Riverside Drive, New York.
George Blumenthal, 50 E. 70th Street, New York.
Hart Blumenthal, Rittenhouse Plaza, 19th and Walnut Streets,
Philadelphia, Pa.
Hon. Louis D. Brandeis, Florence Court West, California Street,
Washington, D. C.
David M. Bressler, 75 Maiden Lane, New York.
Joseph L. Bittenwieser, 17 E. 42d Street, New York.

C.

- Hon. Benjamin N. Cardozo, 2101 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Hon. Emanuel Celler, 32 Court Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Dr. A. J. Cohen, 1630 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Hon. Alfred M. Cohen, 9 W. 4th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Rev. Dr. Henry Cohen, 1920 Broadway, Galveston, Texas.
E. D. Coleman, 59 Bay 25th Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
G. Herbert Cone, Court of Appeals, Albany, N. Y.
Mrs. Moses H. Cone, 1800 Eutaw Place, Baltimore, Md.

D.

- Simon Dalsheimer, N. W. Cor. Greenmount Avenue and Oliver Street, Baltimore, Md.
Gabriel Davidson, 301 E. 14th Street, New York.
Prof. Israel Davidson, 92 Morningside Avenue, New York.
James Davis, 1400 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Dr. Joseph B. DeLee, 426 E. 51st Street, Chicago, Ill.
Julius Bueno de Mesquita, 168 W. 86th Street, New York.

E.

- Gustave A. Efroymson, 400 Occidental Building, Illinois and Washington Streets, Indianapolis, Ind.
Dr. Albert Ehrenfried, 21 Bay State Road, Boston, Mass.
Adolph Eichholz, 360 Bullitt Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
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